

THE MILITANT

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CHICANOS DEMAND:

STOP THE WAR! STOP THE COPS!



Aug. 29 Chicano Moratorium marchers before police attack

Photos by John Gray

Chicanos fight Texas 'integration' plan

Demand recognition as distinct national group

Austin, Texas

U. S. district judge Jack Roberts, who ordered that Austin comply with a school desegregation plan, was quoted by newsmen as stating that at this point he was not willing to "consider Mexican-Americans as comprising a different race."

Chicanos in Austin, Houston and around the state are planning to file suits and call boycotts of schools against court plans for integration because Chicanos maintain that schools are not really being integrated—that what is really happening is that Black and Brown students are segregated in the same schools, considered "integrated" because Chicanos are counted as "white."

Chicanos represent a distinct oppressed national group—the second largest in the country. Chicanos today recognize that the Southwest is a conquered territory and Chicanos a conquered people. Chicanos almost never belonged within the fabric of American life—not even as slaves (as the Blacks were) representing property and therefore valuable. We have our own language, food, and music, which for the most part has never influenced the nation as a whole, as Black culture has.

Chicanos are demanding today to be recognized as we never have in the past—either by official committees or by the nation as a whole. Chicanos are saying, "Sure, study the 'migrant problem' and the 'language problem,' and the 'Mexican problem,' but do it fast!"

A people that to many still does not exist will surprise politicians across the country when Chicanos form—as Chicanos have already begun to form—an independent political party which does exist.

Mariana Hernandez

August 26 in Dayton

Dayton, Ohio

On August 26, 300 women met at the United Theological Seminary here to discuss the entire gambit of women's liberation, seeking alternatives to the present problems and ways to reach these alternatives.

The establishment news media was conspicuous in their lack of serious-

Letters from our readers

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

ness at covering the event. These "newsmen" harassed the women until the women were forced to ask them to leave.

Dee Buchanon, a spokeswoman for the group, told me that this women's liberation group is getting increasingly involved in the problems of the whole community. At present they are supporting a local strike against Miami Valley Hospital in Dayton.

R. B.

D.C. women's march

Washington, D. C.

The thing that marks women's liberation more than anything is the spontaneity and militancy of the women involved.

As we marched on August 26 in Washington, D. C., we were confronted on Connecticut Avenue with a solid row of photographers, cameramen and reporters—all male. Immediately the cry was raised, "Where are the women photographers?" All the cameramen could do was shrug.

At the rally, people were really listening to what was being said by the speakers, who represented a wide diversity of opinions. Occasionally a hostile male would make a snide comment, after which he would be politely shushed by all the women around him.

Another indication of how deep the attraction is to the women's liberation movement was the button sales. We did not have button boards or even aprons, only paper bags filled with buttons. Yet, women—an men—stood in lines to buy the button of the women's strike. And people would not buy just one; they would buy 10 "for the

girls in the office" or "three for my wife and her girl friends." An hour after the last button had been sold, women were still asking to buy them.

Carla Riehle

August 26 sidelights

New York, N. Y.

I was in the front line of the Aug. 26 women's march in New York. As we passed a posh Fifth Avenue beauty salon, three middle-aged women workers leaned out of their second-floor windows, raising the clenched fist, and shouting, "We're with you!"

A Black man said he wished he had brought a sign saying, "Women's Liberation Never Called Me Nigger."

Ruth Cheney

Husband's order refused

New York, N. Y.

In addition to the large numbers that participated in the August 26 women's march in New York there was a vast crowd lining both sides of Fifth Avenue the length of the march. For the most part the onlookers were silent and interested.

However there were a number of arguments I heard. One young couple behind me just happened upon the march. The man gave an order to the woman—she just said, "Nope. Not today. Today's women's liberation day!"

Barry Sheppard

Reader spots error

Houston, Texas

There is an error in Dick Roberts' article "Soaring Japan imports slice into markets" in the Aug. 7 *Militant*. The article states that in 1969 "Japanese-made autos accounted for 13 percent of U. S. consumption."

But this is the figure for total U. S. consumption of imported foreign cars. At least half of these are VWs.

Dan Styron

[The careful reading is appreciated. In fact there are three errors in the paragraph referred to. That paragraph erroneously stated: "In 1969, Japanese-made autos accounted for 13 percent of U. S. consumption; Japanese-made TVs accounted for 31 percent of U. S. consumption; and Japanese-made radios, for 73 percent of U. S. consumption."

[Each of the three figures actually

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Closing news date—Sept. 9

is for the amount of U. S. consumption accounted for by *total foreign imports*, not just Japanese. Japanese-made cars account for 8 percent of U. S. car imports; Japanese-made radios, TVs and other telecommunication equipment account for 68 percent of U. S. imports of these items. This information is taken from the *Congressional Record*, May 12, p. s 7038. — D. R.]

Rocky Mountain PAC slates conference

Denver, Colo.

There is an error in Randy Furst and Wade Douglas' articles in the Sept. 4 *Militant* concerning the fall regional antiwar conference scheduled for the Rocky Mountain region. The conference was originally scheduled to be held in the Crusade for Justice Building, but arrangements problems made it necessary to look for another site. The conference will now be held Sunday, Oct. 4, at the University Memorial Center in Boulder.

The Crusade for Justice is supporting the conference as are Student Mobilization chapters from around the area and several UMAS (United Mexican American Students) chapters.

For further information write to Rocky Mountain Peace Action Council, P. O. Box 86, Denver, Colo. 80201. Phone: (303) 333-7936.

Al Rosenthal

A revealing episode

Detroit, Mich.

It's getting tougher to believe in the Democratic Party. In August at the party's [Michigan] state convention, a majority of the delegates rather suddenly and surprisingly adopted a resolution in favor of amnesty for draft refusers.

The party's nominees for senator, governor and attorney general hot-footed off that plank like it was on fire. Dovish senator Phillip Hart, up for reelection, piously said something to the effect that he sympathized with the resisters but they broke the law and should take their medicine.

But if the small scandal relieved some of the illusion of the efficacy of backing the Democratic Party, it did nothing for those who sow the illusion in the first place—namely the Stalinist-influenced left wing of the party, the New Democratic Coalition.

After capturing a majority vote at the convention only to get rebuffed by the party's candidates, it is fair to conclude that only a blind optimist or a cynic would fail to draw the lesson.

NDC leader Al Fishman appeared on TV the next day and merely urged the candidates to reconsider. They didn't.

Michael Smith

YSA

If you support and want to help build the mass movement against the war in Vietnam, the struggle of Black and Brown people for self-determination, the growing movement for women's liberation, and the fight for socialism in the United States—then you belong in this country's largest and fastest growing radical youth organization.

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Goal: 15,000 new subs!

By RANDY FURST

Across the nation, *Militant* readers moved onto a mobilization footing this week to secure 15,000 new subscribers by Nov. 15.

The 15,000 goal signaled the largest subscription campaign by any American radical newspaper since before the Korean war.

In the next nine weeks, *Militant* salesmen and saleswomen will knock on tens of thousands of doors in campus dormitories, visit hundreds of college cafeterias, and approach Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and Native-Americans in virtually every major American city.

YSAers and SWPers will be selling subscriptions on street corners, during high school study periods, and at all the main demonstrations throughout the U. S.

The socialist newspaper's 15,000 goal was backed unanimously at a special conference of YSA and SWP activists in Oberlin, Ohio, last month.

Independents who read *The Militant* were also encouraged to join the massive effort.

The drive officially opened nation-

wide on Sept. 15. A first run of 3,000 posters and 150,000 subscription blanks rolled off the presses, to be bundled, and mailed to readers throughout the U. S.

The \$1 for an introductory subscription will provide new readers a steady stream of news and socialist analysis for 10 full weeks.

Subscription salesmen are also seeking several thousand new readers for the Marxist theoretical journal, *International Socialist Review*. A three month introductory sub to the magazine is \$1.

The launching of the subscription campaign paralleled the formulation of new plans by *The Militant* for improving both the newspaper's quality and content.

Correspondents now report from the major cities in the U. S., complementing a staff of reporters, analysts, photographers and art personnel based in New York.

If the necessary financial resources become available, *The Militant* hopes to expand its size to accomodate the quality journalism beginning to flood its offices.

The hope is to "break the back" of the projected goal in the next few weeks by an intense campaign to get new subscriptions during the opening of school.

College campuses and high schools will be the main area of concentration along with special attention to securing readers among the radicalizing Black and Chicano populations and among women's liberation activists.

Areas around the country were submitting quotas this week. Some areas had already finalized quotas and were gearing for a mid-September push.

The Boston SWP joined hands with the three YSA locals in the Hub with a promise of 1,000 new introductory subscriptions by the November date. An all-out three-week drive this month to gain the bulk of the new subs was planned by Boston activists.

Minneapolis-St. Paul pledged 600.

New York set itself a quota of 2,000 subscriptions, San Francisco set 750, and Chicago is aiming for 1,500.

In a host of areas where no YSA local yet exists, at-large members have submitted their own quotas. An at-larger in Little Rock, Ark., pledged 50 subscriptions, for example, and at-largers in Logan, Utah, also said they would sell 50 subs by Nov. 15.

A running scoreboard in *The Militant* will keep readers up to date on the drive's progress.

105 subs sold at Valley Forge

VALLEY FORGE, Pa. — Seven salesmen sold 105 introductory *Militant* subscriptions in four and a half hours at the GI anti-war rally here on Labor Day.

The rally culminated the march of active duty reservists and Vietnam veterans (see page 20), which drew 2,500 people, mostly civilians.

"Some had not seen *The Militant* before," said Carol Lisker, Socialist Workers Party candidate for representative from Philadelphia's 87th district. "But they were very receptive."

The sales gave the Philadelphia area a running start in its drive to reach a quota of 500 subscriptions by Nov. 15.

Leading salesman at Valley Forge was Bob Stanton of the Philadelphia Young Socialist Alliance. Stanton sold 20 *Militant* subscriptions.

This week, said Lisker, Philadelphia sales teams would converge on dormitories, student unions and cafeterias at Temple University, Villanova, La Salle, the University of Pennsylvania and St. Josephs College.

Philadelphia area readers can join the effort by calling CE 6-6998 or visiting the area headquarters at 686 N. Broad St.

For the most complete coverage of women's liberation

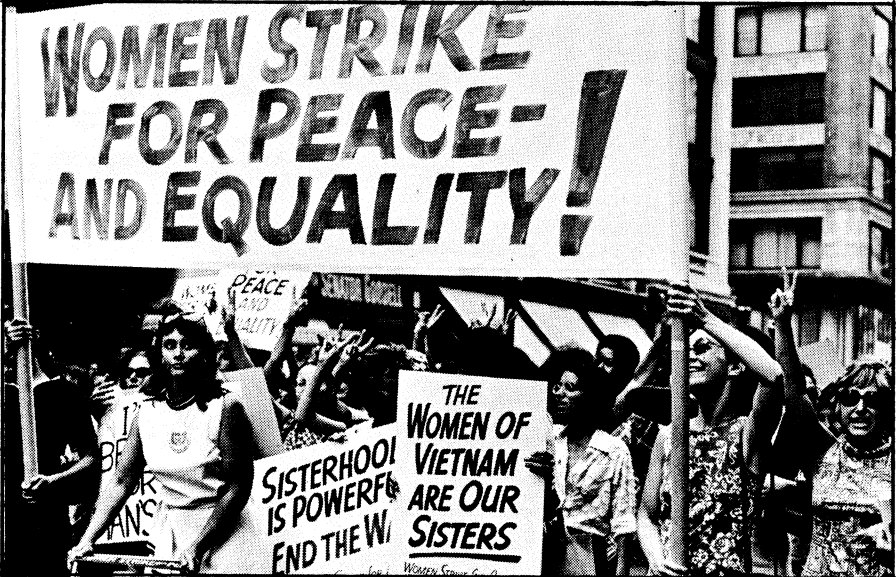


Photo by Howard Petrick

as well as in-depth coverage of the Black and Chicano liberation struggles, the antiwar movement, the revolutionary socialist movement, the war in Vietnam, the labor movement, Congress, the Middle East, capitalist economics, and much more . . .

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Join the sub drive



You don't have to be an SWPer or YSAer to help us gain 15,000 new readers by Nov. 15. If you would like to get *The Militant* into more hands this fall by becoming part of the massive subscription campaign, fill out the coupon below and mail to *The Militant*, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. You will be promptly sent a special subscription kit of posters, brochures, and sub blanks.

Clip and mail

As an independent reader, I would like to sell subscriptions to *The Militant* this fall.

Please set for me a quota of (circle one) 5 10 20
30 40 50 subscriptions.

Check one of the two statements below:

- ☐ List the above quota in *The Militant*'s weekly scoreboard published during the drive. (Note: Quotas are listed by city, not name.)
- ☐ Do not publish my quota figure in *The Militant*.

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Address _____

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Chicano community mobilizes against cop attack



Photo by Della Rossa

Chicano Moratorium, Aug. 29

By WOODY DIAZ

LOS ANGELES—The reaction of the Chicano population of Los Angeles to the government-sponsored attack on their community and to the brutal police murders of Ruben Salazar and Gilberto Diaz has continued to deepen and has drawn other social layers into protest action.

Five days after the killing of the noted Chicano journalist, Ruben Salazar, by sheriff's deputies, a newspaper of the Chicano community, *La Raza*, came out in an edition of 100,000 copies, carrying photos and two eyewitness accounts of Salazar's murder. Unable to ignore this, the *Los Angeles Times* ran the pictures on its front page Sept. 4.

The response of Sheriff Peter J. Pitchess, whose men carried out Salazar's murder, was to say: "The photographs . . . in and of themselves . . . offer no evidence of improper procedure on the part of the officers present."

Corky Gonzales faces frame-up

By RONSES SILAO

LOS ANGELES—As a result of the police attack on the National Chicano Moratorium here Aug. 29 and the ensuing attack on the Chicano community, many Chicanos were brutalized and arrested, including Rudolpho "Corky" Gonzales. Gonzales is head of the Denver Crusade for Justice and a key activist in La Raza Unida Party in Colorado.

Gonzales was originally arrested on "suspicion of armed robbery." Unable to specify who and what Gonzales is supposed to have robbed, the authorities have now charged him with "possession of a loaded weapon." His trial has yet to be scheduled.

Although Gonzales is now out on bail, the police are continuing to harass him. He is followed and his hotel is watched.

Recently Chicanos in the Legal Aid Services, who are handling the cases of Gonzales and the others arrested in connection with the police attack, have been harassed by the police, too. A police van equipped with cameras recently parked in front of their office, and the cops took pictures of people entering and leaving the building. One Chicano was followed after he left the offices and was busted about a block away. (The charges are unknown at this time.)

Contributions are needed for legal defense and should be sent to the Chicano Legal Defense Fund, 1121 South Goodrich, Los Angeles, Calif. 90022.

The pictures showed the deputies forcing people back into the bar where Salazar was killed, and aiming directly into the open door of the cafe with a gas grenade gun powerful enough to penetrate a wall. One of these killed Salazar. The shells carried the specific warning that they were not to be used in "riot-control" situations.

The pictures in *La Raza* were accompanied by two eyewitness accounts which Pitchess refused to comment on.

Despite Pitchess' appeal to stop what he called "emotional and unfounded charges and speculations," the Chicano community had drawn its own conclusions.

In a mass meeting of 600 people on Sept. 3, it was voted to finish the interrupted antiwar demonstration on the 16th. The following additional demands were added: end the police occupation of the Chicano community; free all those arrested and drop all charges against them stemming from the police attack; and for an investigation of the police murder of Ruben Salazar by a body which would include representatives elected from the Chicano community.

The traditional Sept. 16 parade in Los Angeles has been a commercial pageant sponsored by local businessmen, civic clubs and patriotic associations. These forces voted to call off their parade this year since "there was too much danger of trouble."

As a result, the march and rally of the National Chicano Moratorium Committee and the Congress of Mexican American Unity will be the only celebration of the 160th anniversary of Mexican independence in Los Angeles, as well as a fitting answer to the government's attempt to smash the growing Chicano antiwar movement.

Leaflets and buttons are being produced, and support is rapidly growing. Solidarity demonstrations are scheduled in Denver, Seattle and other cities around the country.

The antiwar movement as a whole is also supporting the Sept. 16 demonstration. The Student Mobilization Committee has begun to build support for the action and for the Chicano movement.

At a meeting of about 500 people, called by the Los Angeles Peace Action Council, over \$2,300 was raised for the Moratorium. Speakers expressing their solidarity with the Chicano Moratorium included John T. Williams, vice-president of Teamsters Local 208 and a coordinator of the National Peace Action Coalition.

While the mobilization of the Chicano community continues, and demands mount for an investigation of the police attack and Salazar's mur-

der, local authorities have responded by continuing their red-baiting of the Chicano Moratorium. In addition to attacks by L.A. County sheriff Pitchess, and L.A. police chief Edward Davis, Mayor Sam Yorty demagogically asserted that "hard-core planners" were behind the "disturbance," and that "known communist agents," whom he declined to identify, had been in the area prior to the "disturbance." Yorty also called for a federal investigation to determine whether "agitators crossed state lines to foment Saturday's riot."

While the local government agencies are hard-copping the Chicano movement, higher circles have been playing soft-cop. President Nixon, whose policies the Chicano Moratorium was aimed at, had the temerity to say at his dinner with Diaz Ordaz of Mexico, "As I think of Mexico and the United States, I think of the presence, and the great contribution the Mexican-Americans have made to our country and are making. I think of that contribution and of the debt that we owe them, an obligation that we have not adequately fulfilled in the past and we can more adequately fulfill in the future, so that all Mexican-Americans can play their equal part in the progress of this nation." (Emphasis added.)

Diaz Ordaz, the butcher of Mexican students at Tlateloco, responded in kind when he said: "I wish a great deal of progress and well-being for all Mexicans living in Los Angeles. I have had the opportunity of knowing many of them, and I believe that they constitute one of the important concentrations of Mexicans in the whole world, to the point that they have made it the second city of the Mexican republic."

Meanwhile, the *Los Angeles Times*



Ruben Salazar, slain Chicano newsman.

has removed its coverage of the Sept. 16 demonstration and events in the Chicano community from the first and third pages to a less conspicuous part of the paper. Nevertheless, the Chicano community has attained a new level of consciousness. It will take more than the ruling class closing its eyes and prattling about "progress" to reverse the struggle that has been launched.

Funds to finance the building of the Sept. 16 action are desperately needed and may be sent to the National Chicano Moratorium Committee, 4629 East Brooklyn, Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Statements of support and information concerning local support action can be sent to the same address.

Feeley assails red-baiters

By DIANNE FEELEY

Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. senator from California

My opponent, Democratic senatorial nominee John Tunney, has taken up where Los Angeles County sheriff Pitchess left off. On Aug. 29, the sheriff's deputies broke up the legal and peaceful Chicano Moratorium demonstration. Now Tunney has called for "a crackdown on violence" and an "investigation into whether a handful of dedicated revolutionaries deliberately triggered the violence."

Tunney's statement is part of a campaign by the ruling class to make the victims look like the criminal and the criminals appear the victims, as Malcolm X used to put it. Having failed to intimidate the Chicano community with violence, the capitalist politicians are trying to split it through red-baiting and appeals to anticommunism.

The main target for the moment is the Progressive Labor Party, because they are isolated from the Chicano community. But let no one be mistaken. This is just the first round of a concerted effort to break the barrio's united efforts to stop police violence and to build the massive Sept. 16 demonstration.

Even within the movement some have fallen into a serious trap, putting their factional differences above the unified struggle against the common oppressor. Dorothy Healy, a leading figure of the Communist Party in Southern California, attacked Progressive Labor for being "as anti-communist as Peter Pitchess or [Los Angeles mayor] Sam Yorty," accord-

ing to the Sept. 4 *Los Angeles Times*.

Red-baiting and anticommunism in any form cannot be tolerated. We condemn Tunney for resorting to this smear tactic. Dorothy Healy's use of the same tactic is equally reprehensible.

My party, the Socialist Workers Party, supports the right of the Chicano community to control its own affairs. For far too long the Pitchess's and Tunney's have controlled the Chicano community. The events in Los Angeles this last week represented an enormous step toward Chicano control of the Chicano community. This development, and the forthcoming Sept. 16 demonstration, deserve the full support of all those who defend democratic rights.

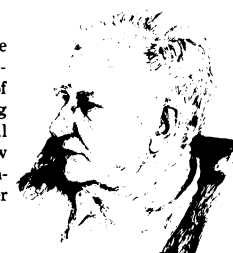
My campaign, for the next ten days, will be geared to one aim: to build the Sept. 16 march to protest the murder of Ruben Salazar and Gilberto Diaz, to protest police brutality, to reaffirm the basic rights of free speech and assembly, and to end the war in Vietnam.

On to Sept. 16!

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party

by James P. Cannon

An exposition of the political and organizational principles of Marxism revolving around fundamental questions about how to build a revolutionary party. paper \$2.45



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Chicano struggle moves to political center stage

By ANTONIO CAMEJO
SWP candidate for California
superintendent of public instruction

LOS ANGELES—The police attack on the Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles has brought about a sharp confrontation between an enraged community and the ruling class of the Los Angeles area, involving the most massive mobilization in Aztlan in recent history. [Aztlan is that area of the Southwest which the Chicano people declare was wrested from them by the U.S. rulers.]

Learning lessons from the history of oppression and struggle in Aztlan as well as from the Black struggle, the antiwar movement, and the Vietnamese and colonial revolutions, the Chicano community has moved to the forefront of political life, particularly in the Southwest, but also, to a degree, in the United States as a whole. This last year has seen the radicalization and initial mobilization and independent political organization of the Chicano masses.

The first big step in this mobilization occurred at the Denver Chicano Youth Liberation Conference in March 1969. This significant gathering of at least 1,000 people stressed the importance of self-organization and the need for Chicanos to control their own communities. In the year that followed, La Raza Unida Party was founded in Texas.

A year later, in March 1970, the second Chicano Youth Liberation Conference was held in Denver. Out of that conference, a massive gathering of some 3,000 people, the Colorado Raza Unida Party was formed. One month later the Texas party began to score its initial electoral victories and to consolidate its base in the predominantly Chicano southwest Texas counties.

Parallel to this rise in Chicano nationalism and national organization throughout Aztlan, the National Chicano Moratorium Committee Against the Vietnam War arose in Los Angeles and other areas of California. This group developed out of draft protests in 1969 and out of a fight for adequate Chicano representation on the speakers list at the San Fran-

cisco Nov. 15, 1969, antiwar demonstration.

Chicanos who had participated in the draft protests and in Nov. 15 called a draft conference, out of which came the National Chicano Moratorium Committee. Its orientation was to attempt to educate and mobilize the community around the war in Vietnam and the high death rate of Chicanos in Vietnam.

The Moratorium held two demonstrations in the Los Angeles area, one of 2,000 and one of 5,000. At the Denver conference in March 1970, the Moratorium leaders proposed a plan for an Aug. 29 demonstration in Los Angeles that would be national in scope and would attempt to mobilize masses of Chicanos against the war. As building actions, they planned some 18 other moratoriums throughout Aztlan, from Austin, Texas, to Oakland, California.

The response to the Moratorium's plans was overwhelming. The march itself received enormous support from the Chicano community, resulting in the largest antiwar demonstration in Los Angeles history. Moreover, Aug. 29 was the largest organized mobilization of an oppressed national minority in the current radicalization.

This experience of the last two years contains several lessons for the Chicano struggle and for other movements in the United States.

1. *The importance of the war issue:* Some sections of the antiwar movement have argued that it is impossible to mobilize Blacks, Chicanos or other oppressed national minorities on the issue of the war. The Aug. 29 action, hopefully, should lay this misconception to rest. Because of their general oppression and disproportionate death rate in Vietnam, antiwar feeling runs deep among Chicanos and other oppressed nationalities. The objective possibility for mass action by this sector has been greater, not less, than in the population as a whole. All that was missing was a leadership with the right ideas and the fortitude to carry them through. The National Chicano Moratorium Committee blazed this trail.

Moreover, it is important to recognize that while Aug. 29 was an anti-



Photo by John Gray

A Chicana at Aug. 29 Los Angeles Moratorium

war action, something else also occurred. The action heightened the understanding by Chicanos of the need to control their own community. That is, through mobilizing masses of Chicanos to defend the Vietnamese right to self-determination, the struggle for self-determination at home was intensified. The Moratorium has set things in motion which will reverberate for years to come.

2. *The importance of mass action:* The Moratorium itself evolved from an organization encouraging individual draft resistance to one of mass action. This flowed from the necessity of educating and mobilizing masses of Chicanos. The difference in the effectiveness of these two orientations was graphic, even though the Moratorium leadership still favors individual draft resistance.

Mass action has enabled the Moratorium to strike a serious blow at the war and gives it the potential of striking greater ones. This approach can also lead to the possibility of effective draft resistance of a mass character.

Moreover, it was the various initial actions such as the high school blow-outs, directed at reaching and mobilizing the masses, that have laid the basis for La Raza Unida parties in Texas and Colorado and the Aug.

29 Los Angeles demonstration. The upheaval in Los Angeles creates many of the preconditions for such a party in the main Chicano population centers in the United States.

3. *The importance of the struggle for non-exclusion and the united front:* Some of the Moratorium's initial forces were drawn together in a battle against the exclusion of militant Chicano speakers from the Nov. 15, 1969, demonstration in San Francisco. The

Third police victim

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 9—Len Ward, 15, of El Monte, died today, the third victim so far of the police attack on the Chicano community. He was injured when a police gas grenade exploded in a trash basket near him, hurling him through a plate glass window.

New Mobilization Committee, controlled on the West Coast by the Communist Party, had attempted to exclude all militants from the planning of the action in order to give it the CP's reformist stamp. The Student Mobilization Committee and other independents—including some of the forces of the future Moratorium—successfully fought this exclusion and placed Corky Gonzales on the speakers list.

The idea of non-exclusion was carried over to the formation and development of the Chicano Moratorium Committee. The committee welcomed any and all Chicanos who supported the demand "Bring Our Carnales [brothers] Home" and agreed with the orientation of mass involvement, regardless of their other ideas. Through this policy, progressively wider layers of the Chicano community were involved in building the Aug. 29 mass action.

The ruling class apparently feels threatened enough by these developments to confront the growing militancy of the Chicano community.

Police and county and city officials have launched a full-scale attack on the Moratorium, charging that "communists" and "violence-seekers" were the cause of the police attack. Their aim is to divide the new grouping of forces, force out the militants, replace them with more "respectable" types, and in the process stop the Sept. 16 action and set back the development of the Chicano Moratorium.

This red-baiting is quite severe, and represents the Moratorium's biggest test to date. At this point the Chicano Moratorium Committee has given no adequate answer to the attack, with some forces, notably the moderates, giving in to the smear that maybe

(Continued on page 6)

Arab students meet in Calif.

LONG BEACH, Calif.—Over 250 registered participants and guests attended the 19th annual convention of Arab students in the United States and Canada at California State College in Long Beach Aug. 29-Sept. 2.

The convention was called by the Preparatory Committee of the Organization of Arab Students, elected in June 1970 by presidents of 33 OAS chapters.

The meeting focused on the role of students in the Palestinian revolution and methods to best defend it.

The four-day conference heard reports and messages from an Arab League official, the Canadian Arab Federation, the General Union of UAR Students, and the National Union of Iraqi students. Participants from organizations based in the U.S. included the National Student Union, the Iranian Student Association, Students for a Democratic Society, the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party.

In his keynote address, the permanent observer of the Arab League at the United Nations, Dr. Fayed A. Sayegh, outlined why he felt the current diplomatic efforts to resolve the crisis

in the Middle East, through the UN Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, were futile.

Dr. Fayed, himself a displaced refugee, declared that "... Palestinians will not acquiesce in any solution which leaves them without their national homeland, without the opportunity for self-determination, and without their fundamental human rights."

This was further discussed by the featured speaker at the conference, an Arab commando, representing the Palestine Liberation Organization and introduced as Abu Khaled. He attacked the UN resolution and, more specifically, the Rogers plan put forth by the United States "because it reaffirms the presence of Zionist usurpation of Palestine."

One session of the conference dealt with what the American left could do to defend and build support for the Palestinian revolution. Participants in this panel included former SDS national secretary Mike Klonsky; George Allison, from the San Francisco State College SDS chapter; and David Frankel representing the YSA and SWP.

George Allison apologized for the lack of activity around the Palestinian

revolution by SDS on a national scale. He also criticized the general lack of knowledge regarding the Middle East by SDS members.

Mike Klonsky charged that the revolutionary movement in the United States was "riddled with Zionist thinking." He said that demonstrations in support of the Palestine revolution were helpful, but what is necessary is "to take the hard road and go to the masses of working people with the national question."

Dave Frankel, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor of California, described the YSA's and SWP's decision at the recent Oberlin conference to intensify their campaign in defense of the Arab revolution and the Palestinian struggle for self-determination.

He compared the current stage of the movement to defend the Arab revolution with the teach-in stage in the antiwar movement and proposed literature tables, speaking tours, films and demonstrations as part of a necessary propaganda offensive. Strongly emphasized was the need to build broad united fronts of all those in the United States who support the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

L.A. Chicanos determined to hold march

Social workers union backs Sept. 16 action

LOS ANGELES—The council of Social Services Union, Local 535, AFL-CIO, voted an immediate \$100 contribution to the Chicano Moratorium and made several decisions to help build the Sept. 16 Moratorium demonstration. It was voted to print 10,000 leaflets for the demonstration, to send out a special membership bulletin on the action, and to seek support from the union's county federation.

LOS ANGELES—The Congress of Mexican-American Unity and the National Chicano Moratorium Committee held a press conference here Sept. 8 to make known the possibility that they may be denied a permit to hold the scheduled march on Mexican Independence Day, Sept. 16, to protest the police attack on the Chicano community and on the Aug. 29 Chicano Moratorium demonstration.

The parade traditionally held on Mexican Independence Day has in past

years been sponsored by the Comité Civico Patriótico, an organization of businessmen and civic clubs.

Esteban Torres, president of the Congress of Mexican-American Unity, an umbrella organization of some 300 Chicano community organizations including the National Chicano Moratorium Committee, reported at the press conference that he had received the following message from the traditional sponsors of the Sept. 16 parade:

"The Comité Civico Patriótico has not reached a final decision whether or not to cancel the traditional 16th of September parade, or to allow another group or organization to apply for the necessary permit."

This information was contrary to public reports in the *Los Angeles Times* and other media according to which the traditional sponsors of the parade had decided to call it off because of the danger of "trouble."

The message was communicated to the Congress of Mexican-American Unity and the Moratorium Committee Sept. 4, and the representative of the Comité Civico Patriótico agreed to inform the Congress or the Moratorium as soon as their decision was reached. But as of the Sept. 8 press conference, no communication has been received from the Comité Civico Patriótico.

The press statement of Esteban Torres went on to say: "The Chicano Moratorium, the Congress, and many other organizations have been recipients of innumerable phone calls, letters and visits from community groups and individuals warmly expressing their desire to have the 16th of September parade. Many have said: 'If they take 16th of September away from us, next they'll take our name, and then heaven knows what.' This kind of barrio response from all segments of our society leads us to believe that the community is going to have their traditional and historic parade, whether the media, the organi-

zation and the establishment want it or not. We feel a strong moral commitment to make our resources available in order to see that the parade is carried out in a peaceful, respectful and legal manner without any outside interference.

"A successful, peaceful and respectful parade can and will occur if the police agencies will kindly stay away from the parade and rally. We are more than capable of monitoring and protecting our own people. We have proved this over and over at many other places and at many other parades and rallies."

Aug. 29 recalls anti-'zoot suit' riot

The Los Angeles police riot Aug. 29 reminded Chicanos of the "zoot-suit riots" 27 years ago. At that time, many young Los Angeles Mexicanos wore the baggy-kneed, peg-legged, droopy-shouldered garments because they were well suited to the dances then popular in the barrio.

Throughout the first week of June 1943, mobs of Anglo servicemen, later joined by civilians, roamed the streets of East Los Angeles beating half to death anyone they caught in a zoot-suit—and any other Mexicano and, often, Blacks. The cops went along behind the mobs, never interfering

with them but arresting the victims they had left bleeding in the streets.

The newspapers egged the marauders on, congratulating them for "cleansing" the city of its "criminal element." After four days of vicious, racist attacks on Mexicanos by the mayor, district attorney and police authorities, the city council declared wearing zoot-suits illegal because it "indicated a subversive character."

Compare that with Mayor Sam Yorty's charge that "hard-core planners" and "known communist agents" were behind the Aug. 29 "disturbances."

—MARIANA HERNANDEZ



Photo by Bob Schwartz

Newlyweds join Aug. 29 Moratorium after leaving church

Gov't indifferent to Chicano health

By MARIANA HERNANDEZ
Socialist Workers Party candidate
for U.S. senator from Texas

AUSTIN—Texas newspapers have recently been covering the outbreak of diphtheria in San Antonio. Seventy-two cases have been reported, and the vast majority have been among Black and Brown people. The coverage has obscured the general ill-health from which Mexicanos suffer.

The condition of the farm workers, as disclosed at a recent congressional subcommittee hearing on migrant health, indicates the extent of federal, state and local governments' "concern." In fiscal 1969, governments spent \$565,677 on migrant health services in Hidalgo and Starr counties. Meanwhile, \$5,402,000 was spent on eradicating animal diseases.

In Hidalgo, many migrants suffer

from vitamin C deficiency. Vitamin C, of course, is obtained mainly from citrus fruit, and citrus is the second largest crop in Hidalgo. But the people who work the citrus can't get it.

A recent survey of 1,400 patients showed intestinal parasites were the rule, and that pinworms, hookworms, roundworms and amoebal infection often occurred together.

La Voz Chicana reports: "Repeated cases of rickets, ariboflavinosis, pellagra and other nutritional diseases, including even scurvy, were reported when 4,400 migrants were examined in March.

While Cuba, an underdeveloped country, has been able to wipe out polio, the rulers of Texas have been unable or unwilling to do so. Five children have died of polio in recent months.

... analysis of rising movement for Chicano liberation

(Continued from page 5)

there were some marchers who caused violence.

Instead of a bold reaffirmation of its non-exclusionist policy, the Moratorium has until now chosen to avoid the question. This stance contains grave dangers to themselves, the Sept. 16 action, and the entire Chicano movement. Once the first step is taken on the exclusion path, it is not long until the movement itself can be destroyed.

Progressive Labor Party has been used as a scapegoat by the daily press, and some in the movement have even repeated the charge that they instigated the "trouble" on Aug. 29. While Progressive Labor's anti-nationalist views win few friends in the Chicano struggle, it is important to uphold Progressive Labor's right to hold its ideas and to see the current attack as the first step toward baiting and excluding the real militants.

4. *The need for independent political organization:* If there is any doubt, after the Texas and Colorado expe-

riences, that La Raza Unida Party is a vital instrument for the Chicano struggle, one need only consider what such a formation could have meant at the recent East Los Angeles confrontation.

The Democratic and Republican forces that rule the Chicano community have monopolized the political arena in this period of crisis. What is required by the Chicano community is a political organization, such as a Raza Unida Party, that can challenge the rulers in their own arena.

Such an organization could bring to bear the power of an already mobilized Chicano community.

The present developments have accentuated the urgent need for such an organization. The emerging leadership of the community faces a major test now as to whether they will take steps in that direction.

5. *Anticapitalist struggle:* The Chicano people, in a short year or two, have leaped from relative quiescence to the very forefront of anticapitalist political action. Basing itself on the

experience of the Black and antiwar struggles, the Chicano movement is now providing leadership and valuable examples to these other movements.

In playing this role, the Chicano struggle is paralleling the role the Black struggle played throughout the radicalization of the 1960s. Both these nationalist movements, in their time and in their own way, have set a tone, pace and leadership for the class struggle as a whole.

The ruling class views the developing nation of Aztlan with alarm and is trying to prevent it from expanding any further. The *New York Times*, in recent reports on developing relations between Mexican President Diaz Ordaz and President Nixon, commented that the administration's concern over developments in the Mexican-American community was one motivation behind Nixon's action.

This is why the police carefully planned the attack on the Aug. 29 demonstration, as indicated by evidence now coming to light. The rul-

ing class saw the first signs of an independently organized Chicano nation and reacted sharply, first with an attempt to physically smash the movement and now by attempting to coopt and divide it by red-baiting.

We have new phone numbers

We now have two telephones and hope that this will make it easier to get through to our editorial and business offices. The new numbers are: (212) 533-9600 and 9601.

POSTAL MAZE. It helps our business office if all subscription addresses include the zip code.

ON THE MARCH: Farm workers join in Chicano Moratorium demonstration in Los Angeles. Vegetable and fruit growers are on the defensive in California where Chicano field workers are mounting demands under the auspices of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee.



Farm workers battle Calif. growers

By DIANNE FEELEY
*California SWP candidate
for U. S. Senate*
and ANDREW PULLEY
*California SWP candidate for U. S.
Congress (7th district)*

SALINAS, Calif., Sept. 7 — The Salinas Valley, beginning at Monterey Bay and stretching southward for over 50 miles, produces a major portion of the entire country's lettuce, tomatoes, celery, artichokes, broccoli, cauliflower, beans and strawberries. In America's "salad bowl," five companies control 90 percent of the farmland.

California's commercial production of fruits and vegetables was so insignificant in 1900 that no statistics were kept. By World War II they constituted 30 percent of the total crop production and half the country's supply. This rapid development was based on an unending flow of super-exploited labor from Mexico. In the 1920s alone, more than 270,000 immigrants entered California.

Over the last two years the predominantly Chicano workers have followed the development of the Delano grape strike. This spring they began to organize themselves. Their representatives made a trip to Delano and asked the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) to come to the valley. By the end of July, to keep UFWOC out, farm growers signed a sweetheart contract with the Teamsters union. The five-year contract provided little more than the minimum wage. The workers were summoned to an owner's house where he explained that the union official would come around the following week to sign them up. Anyone who did not sign could no longer work.

The UFWOC responded by taking both the growers and the Teamsters to court, charging that the field workers had been denied the right to choose their own union. When a grower tried to fire 250 workers who refused to join the Teamsters, the UFWOC threw up a picket line. Growers and Teamsters obtained a court order against picketing, but the line continued. Packinghouse workers honored the strike, and the lettuce crop lay rotting in the fields.

Normally, at this time of year, 200 railroad cars of lettuce and about 100 cars of other produce are shipped out of the valley each day. But with 5,000 workers honoring the picket lines, only 75 carloads are leaving.

The workers are feeling their collective strength. Toward the end of each day, they gather at the UFWOC office in Salinas for reports on picketing at the various farms. Since the local papers and radio stations side with the growers, these mass meetings are

the workers' main source of information.

Within a week, the largest lettuce grower, Inter Harvest, signed a two-year contract with the United Farm Workers. The agreement provided for a 25 to 35 percent wage increase, hospitalization coverage, control over the use of pesticides, and improved housing conditions in the camps. Cesar Chavez of the UFWOC stated that the contract was the biggest the union ever negotiated.

The other growers were enraged. Pic 'N' Pac Foods, the world's largest strawberry growers, went to court to restrain Inter Harvest from making such a unilateral agreement. It seems that the growers had agreed that no one would sign with the UFWOC unless all had agreed to sign. Pic 'N' Pac has since withdrawn its suit. Instead, it will seek several million dollars in damages.

The local farm operators, bitter about how quickly Inter Harvest buckled to the union, joined with the Teamsters in setting up a counter-picket.

By Sept. 4 the fourth largest lettuce grower, Freshpick, recognized the UFWOC as the bargaining agent for its workers. With this second victory, the two largest firms in the valley recognized the UFWOC. All the other growers, declare the field workers confidently, will sooner or later have to give in.

The strike, less than a month old, has already broken the resistance of the farm owners. But the significance of the victory goes far beyond the Salinas Valley. The large firms also have farms in the Imperial and San Joaquin valleys, as well as in Arizona and Colorado, where lettuce workers have been on strike for more than two months.

National Peace Action Coalition backs Chicano demonstration in Los Angeles

By DAVID THORSTAD

SEPT. 8—As schools reopen for the fall, plans for national Oct. 31 antiwar demonstrations are off the ground in a number of areas.

Steps are also being taken by the National Peace Action Coalition to help build the Sept. 16 Chicano Moratorium Against the War in Vietnam in Los Angeles. The momentum generated by that action is expected to give an added boost to preparations for Oct. 31.

The Oct. 31 actions are being coordinated by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), formed by a national emergency conference in Cleveland in June. The conference called for massive antiwar demonstrations Oct. 31 capable of mobilizing the increased antiwar sentiment so dramatically evidenced by the massive protest against the U.S. invasion of Cambodia last May.

Two of NPAC's national coordinators, Jerry Gordon and James Laferty, are now in Los Angeles and will be assisting the National Chicano Moratorium in its efforts to build the Sept. 16 demonstration.

The Aug. 29 Chicano Moratorium was especially significant inasmuch as it was the first time that members of a Third World community have taken to the streets in such massive numbers to protest the war in Vietnam. It revealed the potential that exists for involving Third World communities in the Oct. 31 demonstrations. The Na-

tional Chicano Moratorium was itself an outgrowth of the antiwar demonstration in Washington, D. C., last November.

The police assault on the Chicano Moratorium represents not only a calculated attempt to intimidate the Chicano community. It is also an attempt to silence critics of the war in Indochina, and as such it constitutes an attack on the antiwar movement as a whole, declared a Sept. 2 NPAC statement condemning the attack.

"The antiwar movement," the statement said, "will respond to this fresh attack on the right to protest as it has responded to every other attack—from Agnew's speeches to the Kent massacres—by continuing to organize antiwar protests."

The Student Mobilization Committee too is urging support to the Sept. 16 Moratorium.

The growing labor support for the Oct. 31 actions (see *The Militant*, Sept. 4) indicates the prospect that labor participation will surpass that of any previous antiwar action. A further sign of the potential for reaching out to this important social layer was a letter from Minnesota union officials that recently appeared in the Minneapolis press.

"We recognize that students, teachers, and labor are not as far apart as some would lead us to believe," the letter stated.

Speaking of a "genuine desire to

Washington Chicanos strike ranch

By STEPHANIE COONTZ
*SWP candidate for U. S. Congress
from Washington*
and ARMANDO MENDOZA
*Coordinator of the
Huelga Support Committee*

SEATTLE—On Sept. 4, 30 families walked out of the largest of the Yakima Chief ranches, the largest hop growers in Washington State. At a meeting in Granger that night, approximately 150 voted unanimously to go on strike, demanding a wage increase and the right to unionize.

Two more ranches were struck the morning of Sept. 7. Now 250 field workers and their families are involved. Ninety percent of them are participating in the picket lines. A temporary kitchen has been set up, and attempts are being made to establish a child-care center in order to free the Chicanos so they can join the picket lines.

The ranch has hired high school workers over the Labor Day weekend, but this has not been successful, since the output has been less than half what it was before.

Conditions in the Yakima Valley have helped lay the basis for this kind of action for a long time. Not only do Chicanos suffer low wages and terrible living conditions, but when they have complained about it they have been attacked. In the past month alone, three have been attacked by Anglo foremen.

Funds and food for the strikers are urgently needed. They can be sent to Western Washington Huelga Support Committee, 4709 36th Avenue N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105.

BULLETIN: In a move to break the strike, Granger High School in Yakima Valley released its students to help harvest the crops. The strike support committee urges protest telegrams to Gov. Dan Evans, Olympia, Wash.

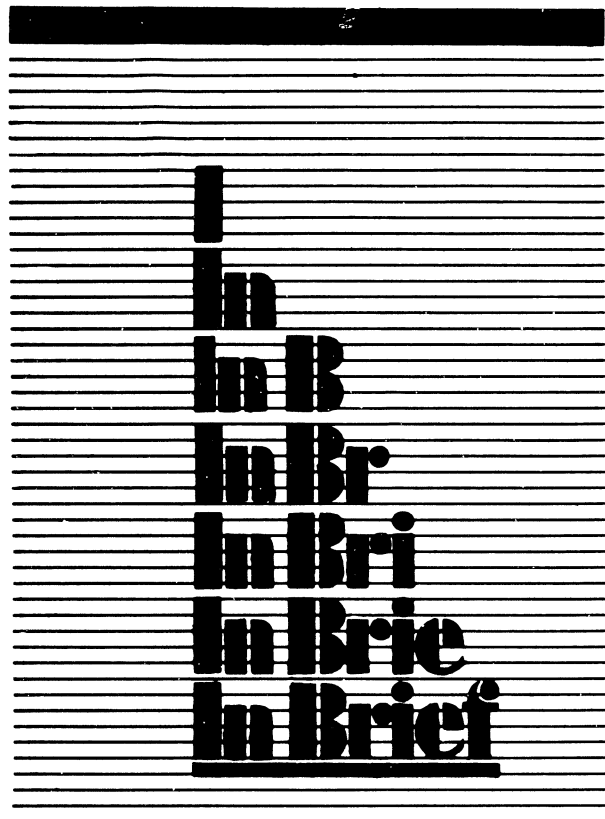
establish a greater measure of understanding, cooperation and involvement for the future," and explaining that "we too have sons and daughters who are in disagreement with the way things are," it invited students to join in a dialogue with the Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council (CLUC) and the State Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO. Several meetings between representatives of the CLUC and the Minneapolis Peace Action Coalition have since taken place.

The letter was signed by David Roe, president, Minnesota AFL-CIO; Thomas Loberg, president, Minneapolis AFL-CIO Central Labor Union Council; Jerome Froehlig, former president, CLUC; and George Acko, Minneapolis teachers representative to the CLUC.

In other developments, regional conferences to finalize plans for Oct. 31 are scheduled for Sept. 19 in Austin, and for Sept. 26 in Detroit, Minneapolis and Chicago.

The first meeting of the Philadelphia Peace Action Day Coalition Sept. 3 set plans for an Oct. 31 demonstration there. The YWCA, an active participant in the coalition, is providing office space.

Further plans for the nationwide actions on Oct. 31 will be made at an expanded steering committee meeting of NPAC in Chicago on Sept. 19. All activists involved in organizing these actions are invited to attend. The meeting will begin at noon in the YWCA, 37 So. Wabash St.



The river Rhine, it is well known,
Doth wash your city of Cologne;
But tell me, Nymphs, what power divine
Shall henceforth wash the river Rhine?

THE ANSWER to Samuel Taylor Coleridge's question is sewage, a poisonous saline solution, ammonia, and an assortment of chemical wastes. The river Rhine is polluted to the extent ecologists are at a loss to know what to do. Representatives from five nations — the Netherlands, West Germany, France, Switzerland, and Luxembourg — sit on the International Commission to protect the Rhine Against Pollution. But the commission, says Lyn Shepard in the *Christian Science Monitor* Sept. 3, is powerless. A highly profitable potassium salt mining operation in the French Alsace dumps its unusable 'abraum salt' into the Rhine, killing plant life and causing fabulous farming losses. Cities flow their sewage directly into the Rhine. The solution? Scientists apparently fear only the worst for the great European river.

NO. 1: The Young Socialist Alliance is leading the FBI's most recent list of "subversive" organizations, the *Milwaukee Journal* reports Aug. 6. According to the news story, the FBI says the YSA is the fastest growing revolutionary group in the country. . . . **NEW TEXAS LOCAL:** The Young Socialist Alliance has a new local in Dallas-Ft. Worth. . . . **BOSTON EXPANSION:** A large influx of youth into the YSA in Boston, where the Trotskyist youth group is now the city's leading radical organization, resulted at the end of August in the formation of three locals. There's now a Cambridge local, a North Boston local and a South Boston local.

ALCATRAZ SEIZURE: Native-Americans are still occupying Alcatraz Island 10 months after they seized the land, Nov. 14, 1969. Supplies can be sent to Alcatraz Indian Committee, Pier 40, San Francisco Embarcadero, San Francisco, Calif. . . . **FACTS ON CHICANOS:** The *Hard Times* newsletter, published weekly out of Washington, offers some explosive statistics in its Aug. 31 issue. "In the whole Southwest, 34.8 percent of Chicano families are considered poor by official standards," says the newsletter. "The Chi-

cano is seven times more likely to live in sub-standard housing than whites. The infant mortality rate is twice that of whites. In Vietnam, Chicanos die more often than even Blacks; Chicanos represent 3 percent of the population and 19 percent of the casualties. In New Mexico, Chicanos form 27 percent of the population, 69 percent of the draftees, and 44 percent of the dead."

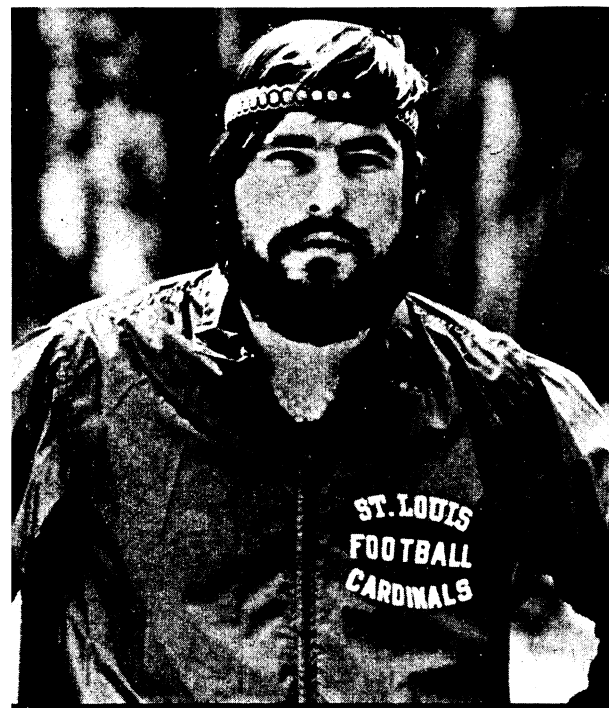
AGAINST HOMEMAKING: Women want out of the home is the conclusion to be drawn from a survey conducted by Gilbert Youth Research, a division of Gilbert Marketing Group. Surveying thousands of young women between the ages of 14 and 25, the opinion-research organization found that fewer than 1 percent of the college women polled selected "housemaker-housewife" as their main career choice. Among all young women, it was chosen by 4 percent. The study was conducted in February of this year. . . . **VOICE OF VIETNAM:** News, commentary and special cultural programs are beamed daily by the Vietnamese liberation forces to North America via Cuba. Hear "The Voice of Vietnam" on Radio Havana at 9:10 p.m., 10:40 p.m. and 11:40 p.m., Eastern Standard Time, on the following frequencies: 9,525 kc on the 31 meter band; at 11,970 kc on the 25 meter band and at 17,715 kc on the 16 meter band.

HAMPTON ON REVOLUTION: Before Carl Hampton, a leader of the People's Party II in Houston was gunned down by police July 27, he had spoken of the inevitability of death: "I am a revolutionary," he had said. "When I became a revolutionary, I knew I was going to die. I gave up the idea of being an old man long time ago. You got madmen riding around the country waiting for you. . . . The most insecure place in the world is the Black communities in America." . . . **SOLIDARITY WEEK:** The theme of a seven-day event in Tallahassee, Fla., is Solidarity Week and the sponsors, Malcolm X United Liberation Front and the African Progressive Party, plan workshops and discussions. . . . **WHITE SALESMEN:** Less than 3 percent of the 81,000 salesmen employed by 189 major firms in the New York area are Black, according to a study by business students at Manhattan College. Half the 189 firms studied hired no Blacks at all as salesmen.

SHIFT TO LEFT: They're still calling strikes out at the ballpark, but these days it isn't always the umpires. Kuuckleball pitcher Jim Bouton is typical of the growing politicization in sports. Bouton spoke at a November antiwar rally in Central Park. *Sport* magazine reports in its September issue that Rick Sortun, 27 and a St. Louis Cardinal football player, sent the Cardinal front office earlier this year a picture of an NLF guerrilla and a little message that he was quitting football. "I hope that when the barricades are drawn you will be on the right side," Sortun wrote Cardinal owner Stormy Bidwell. Another Cardinal, linebacker Dave Meggyesy, persuaded 37 players last October to sign an antiwar petition. For his efforts, Meggyesy was removed from his starting assignment. Fed up with the game, he quit. "I like being in the protest movement," says Meggyesy. "It's more fun to be a radical than a straight old uptight football player." Not all ballplayers resign however. Many merely go on strike, like the college baseball players last May who left the basepaths to join with hundreds of thousands of students in the nationwide student strike.

BIRDS FACE EXTINCTION: Two sea birds, the black guillemot and the razor-billed auk, face extinction as a result of pollution in British coastal waters. Dick Plunketts, editor of *Audubon Field Notes* informs *The Militant* that the birds are "in deep trouble around the British Isles" due to a series of oil spills. Guillemots declined in numbers by 25 percent in the last two years with the disappearance of 50,000 breeding guillemots, reports the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds in London. Plunkett explains that when the oil gets into the bird's feathers, it destroys the waterproofing. The oil, he says, breaks down the structure of the feathers. When the waterproofing is gone, there is no longer any heat insulation. The waters that the birds inhabit are cold and the birds are dying of exposure.

BEER COMPANY BOYCOTT: Charging large-scale hiring discrimination, the metropolitan St. Louis chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality has organized a boycott of the Busch Brewing Company. Busch employs 4,500 employees and only 100 of them are Blacks, says CORE. Out of 84 drivers, one is Black. CORE has attempted to negotiate with Busch, but the company refuses to talk. Busch products include Budweiser, Busch and Michelob Beer. . . . **TIRED OF PATRIOTIC ACTS:** "Big-name entertainers" such as Bob Hope, Art Linkletter and George Jessell are un-



Sport

Dave Meggyesy, former member of St. Louis Cardinals.

acceptable to most of the United States troops now overseas, according to a government official who books the acts, UPI reports. The Aug. 31 dispatch quotes Kenneth D. Smith, chief of the Special Services Agency for entertainment in Europe. Smith says that sentimental, patriotic material does not appeal to GIs between the ages of 18 and 25. Compounding the problem, Smith says, is the refusal of younger entertainers, particularly Black, to appear before the military. Most of the popular groups, Smith notes, base their acts on criticism of the establishment, particularly the military.

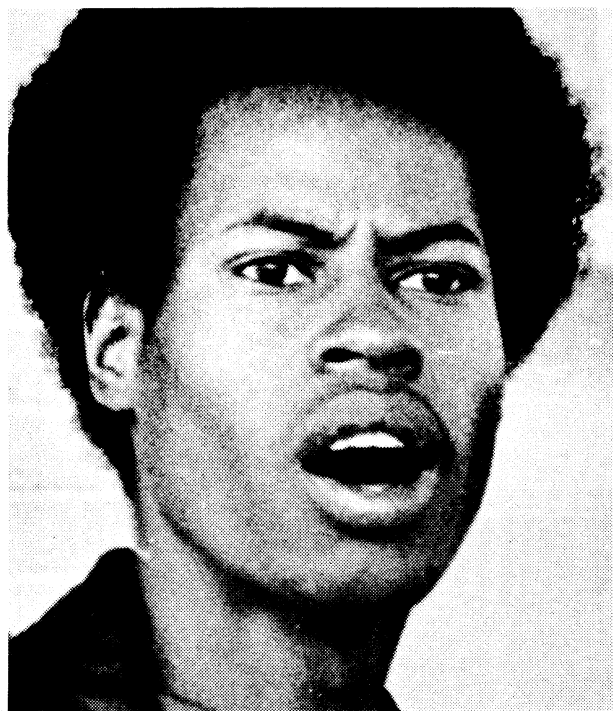
MOTHER FILES SUIT: The mother of Jeffery Miller, one of four students shot to death on the Kent State campus May 4, has filed a \$4-million damage suit naming a slew of defendants including the governor of Ohio, the president of Kent State University and the head of the Ohio National Guard. Mrs. Elaine B. Miller charges that the killings were absolutely unnecessary. . . . **JACKSON STATE SUIT:** Gov. John Bell Williams and other Mississippi officials are the defendants in a multi-million-dollar suit filed on behalf of two Black students who were killed at Jackson State and four others who were injured. The action was taken by relatives of Phillip Gibbs and James Earl Green, shot to death the night of May 14, and four other Blacks, Leroy Kenter, Jr., Vernon Weakly, Wayne Davis and Marion Buchanan, who were all wounded.

COPS INDICTED IN AUGUSTA: Two white cops have been indicted in Augusta, Ga., in connection with the police attack on the Black community in May. One cop, William Samuel Deniss, is charged with the fatal shooting of John Stokes. The other policeman, Louis C. Dinkins, is accused of wounding Louis Nelson Williams. The two policemen, says a grand jury, violated the civil rights of the two Blacks. Six Blacks were killed during that police riot in Augusta May 11-12, and all were shot in the back. The main criminals—city, state and national officials who permit and encourage such "law and order"—naturally have gone scot free. . . . **PAMPHLET ON KILLINGS:** The Southern Regional Council has issued a special report on the murders in Augusta and Jackson. The report on the Augusta slayings is especially complete and is available for 50 cents, or in bulk for 40 cents, by writing the council at 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

DEMAND MORE BLACK WORKERS: The Black Construction Workers Coalition is demanding 50 percent Black workers at the construction sites next to Boston City Hospital, where additions are currently being built. Ninety percent of the construction workers on the job at the hospital are white. The BCWC demonstrated at the site last month. When police broke up a Black picket line of community residents in front of the site, 14 were arrested. Armed guards are on regular duty at the hospital now. . . . **FIRED:** San Jose State electrical engineering teacher Jack Kurzweil has been fired, effective at the end of the 1970-71 academic year. Kurzweil is husband of Communist Party member Bettina Aptheker. Kurzweil charges he is being fired because of his political beliefs and because of his wife's political affiliations.

Contributors to In Brief this week included Stu Singer of Boston; Dale Hardman of Warner Robins, Ga.; Debbie Chlospa of San Francisco; and Liberation News Service, New York.

—RANDY FURST



LNS

Carl Hampton, murdered leader of People's Party II.

SPECIAL FEATURE—A FIRSTHAND ACCOUNT

Women in revolutionary Cuba

By EVA CHERTOV

Eva Chertov returned to the U.S. last year after living for six years in Cuba. For most of that period she was an English teacher in Havana.

Since returning she has become active in the women's liberation movement and prior to the Aug. 26 women's demonstration in New York worked full time in the Women's Liberation Center helping to build the action.

The present article is based on a lecture she gave this past May in a class on women's liberation and socialism sponsored by the Women's Liberation Committee of the Socialist Workers Party Campaign and Young Socialist Alliance.

This year has seen the rise of an extremely important movement: the women's liberation movement. Part of the vanguard of this movement first became interested in politics with the triumph of the Cuban revolution. And many of the younger women in the movement also look to Cuba for answers to some of the basic questions they have about what has to be done to achieve the complete liberation of women.

So it is appropriate that we dedicate this discussion to what the Cuban leadership itself has called the most important revolution within the revolution: the revolution of Cuban women.

Since my return from Cuba, I've

been active in the women's liberation movement and I've had many discussions with sisters on this topic. I would like to speak to the basic questions which have come up during these discussions.

Personal experience

I'm going to rely mostly on personal conversations and experiences that I had in Cuba during the six years I lived there.

To properly appreciate the tremendous gains that Cuban women have made, it is important to understand what their status was before 1959. When you contrast the situation of Cuban women then and now, you get a better feel for how far women have advanced, in spite of the terrible economic problems the country has been faced with.

Prior to 1959 the situation in Cuba was one of severe economic depression, and this was reflected in the relationships between Cuban men and women.

The U.S. sugar companies had a vested interest in maintaining the idea that Cuban women should be confined to the home. With practically 25 percent of the sugar workers unemployed for three-quarters of the year, there was certainly no desire on the part of the United Fruit Company, or U.S. sugar interests, that Cuban women should fight for equal job opportunities or even get the idea of the most minimal independence into their heads.

So the 15th century feudal ideas regarding male-female relationships—

specifically of the Spanish variety—were allowed to exist and were even encouraged. The mystique of virginity, double standards for men and women, and the reduction of women to the most dehumanized sex objects were very deeply ingrained concepts accepted by the society as a whole, both male and female. The woman was to be in the home and the man in the streets.

In pre-1959 Cuba it was considered a status symbol that your wife should never leave the home, even to go shopping, except when the husband accompanied her. And this was right before the revolution, and even afterwards in some rural areas!

Watch guards

If a woman did want to go somewhere, she had to get at least one female friend or relative to accompany her. If she was married, her husband would have to accompany her—or else a friend of his—to make sure that she wasn't having some escapade on the side.

I was told a story by a young woman who was the head of the English department of the school where I worked in Havana. She got married in 1959 in a small town in the interior of Cuba, and she told me that when her fiancé would come to visit her the whole family would pull up their rocking chairs and everyone would sit rocking and watching the two of them.

If a man wanted to take a woman to a movie, usually the mother, the grandmother, or the aunt would go along. This lasted until slightly after 1959! It was also generally accepted that if a young man found out on his wedding night that his bride was not a virgin, it was within his right to return her to her family.

In other words, a woman was judged solely for her chastity and the width of her behind—the Cuban beauty symbol.

The whole idea of marriage in Cuba—that a woman's purpose was solely to give her husband sexual pleasure and to bear his descendants—wasn't basically different from in the U.S. But in this country there is a facade over it; in Cuba there wasn't. Women had to accept this position because they were discriminated against in the types of jobs they could get and therefore lived in total economic dependence on men.

A Cuban woman wasn't even supposed to enjoy sex with the one man she had! If she did, she was considered like a prostitute. Your true pleasure was supposed to be motherhood.

Old view

This idea was so prevalent that older women would sit around talking and criticizing many of the younger women, saying "Oh, my, they're hot women." I'd ask, "What do you mean by that?" And they'd say that by their standards a good woman was one who not only had a big behind and bore children and gave in to her husband's sexual pleasures, but she did not enjoy sex herself.

So you can just imagine this totally frustrating situation for women, not only isolated in their homes and never supposed to go out of them, but not even supposed to enjoy sex with the one man they were allowed to have for their lifetime.

Of course it was understood that men were different. They were supposed to have more than one woman. It proved that they were manly, and it was considered OK as long as there was no family scandal and they continued to maintain the home.

Now, before the revolution, women could only find employment in the most menial jobs—to some degree in the tobacco industry, and as maids

or prostitutes. There was a huge number of prostitutes in pre-revolutionary Cuba—they were one of the main tourist "attractions" of Havana—because it was one of the only fields open to the women of the impoverished island. Many families in desperate situations were forced to send their daughters to the cities, knowing they would become prostitutes.

The number of maids was also huge. I remember recently reading a figure that at the time of the revolution there were 40,000 maids in Havana alone. It was like the situation in Santo Domingo today, where you can get a maid for \$20 per month. And that is considered an escape for many women who find it very difficult to survive in the countryside.

Special jobs

Once in a great while, if a woman's family had some connection with a foreign enterprise, she could get an office job there. But of course these jobs, in banks or stores, were only for those Cuban women who approximated the anglo image; Black and mulatto women, and that means very many Cuban women, were excluded from them.

Teaching was perhaps another field that a few women could enter—if their families could afford to give them enough education to become a teacher.

These very rigid prejudices against women began to recede a bit during the rise of the Cuban revolutionary movement, the July 26th Movement. Many brave women died, tortured by the Batista police, as messengers or heads of 26th of July cells.

Some women set up sewing shops in the mountains to make uniforms for the guerrilla fighters. Others insisted on their rights to be in the front lines of the struggle and fought in the ranks of the guerrillas. As the Cubans begin writing their complete history, the stories of many heroic Cuban women are going to come forward from the whole revolutionary past.

But in spite of Cuban women's participation in the revolutionary struggle, the triumph of the revolution didn't bring about the total eradication of the very deep-rooted prejudices against them, *since a revolution isn't a magic wand.*

What was eradicated was the economic base upon which these prejudices had developed, and thus the stage was set for an ongoing battle, not between the sexes, but between the ideas of the past and the future. This battle was fought between the older men and women and younger men and women. Some younger men, for instance, felt that the older women were prejudiced. That's why I say it wasn't a battle between sexes but rather between the old social concepts and the new ones.

Material factor

From the very outset of the revolution, it was evident that the new Cuba needed the full participation of every sector of society and particularly the women, who comprised 51 percent of the population. Women were needed for the people's militia; women were needed to help set up committees for defense of the revolution; and women were needed to teach an entire population to read and write in one year. At the time of the revolution, you'll remember, one out of three Cubans was totally illiterate and a great majority of the others had only a third grade education. So in order to teach an entire population how to read and write in one year, women had to participate, and they did.

(Continued on page 10)



Cuban city worker goes to country

'A new generation is being educated in a

(Continued from page 9)

Every home, at this point, became a battle ground between the social concepts of the past and those which represented the future. If you think back to the picture of the Cuban woman that I was describing at the beginning, you can just imagine the hell that broke loose in Cuban homes when their 12, 13 or 14-year-old daughters announced that they were going off to the mountains in mixed groups to teach the farmers how to read and write.

The parents were in an absolute crisis because their virgin daughter was going off into the mountains, and who knew what was going to happen to her up there. But at the same time they had to face the fact that this was an urgent revolutionary task, and that if they considered themselves revolutionaries, they would just have to get over that crisis. And most of them did.

Necessary sensitivity

Of course the revolutionary leadership and the women's organizations were very sensitive to how the families—and in many cases the young people themselves—felt about this. They guaranteed that there would be chaperones up in the mountains and responsible people in charge of these young adults. They had to do this; otherwise there might even have been very revolutionary parents who would have said no.

The experience of one of my friends was an example of this conflict. Her family was against the revolution from the very beginning, and she was for it. You find this contradiction to some degree in many Cuban families. When she wanted to join the militia, her family brought up some rather stupid political arguments against the idea.

Then, when they couldn't convince her, they asked, "Why would you want

to go marching in the streets with pants on?" That was the big horror, because, of course, women did not go out on the streets with pants on—until the women's militia was formed.

"And you would have to carry a gun around," they told her. "Women don't carry guns. Carrying heavy things, why, that's totally unfemale!"

And thirdly, they said, "Don't you know that everyone in the women's militia is a lesbian?"

So my friend had to tie sheets together and climb out of her window in order to go to militia practice. Since then her family has left for the United States, and she is still in Cuba.

Now, while the needs of the new society were knocking away at the old ways of thinking, the Cuban women set up their own organization in 1960, the Cuban Federation of Women, to deal specifically with the problems that women faced.

School program

One of the first things they began were night schools, then training programs, and then live-in schools for women scholarship students. Schools were set up specifically for women, so that they could get the necessary training to participate in production and thus end their economic dependency on men.

The problems of child-care centers, workers cafeterias and birth-control information were also taken up from the very beginning of the revolution.

Equal pay for equal work was established.

Women were encouraged to continue their studies through the university level, and the concept of careers "for men only" was eradicated. All these things were dealt with during the very first year of the revolution.

When I first got back here and went to my first women's liberation meet-

ing, some women were talking about this business of discrimination against women in education and careers for men only, and I didn't understand what they were talking about at first. I asked, "What do you mean—careers for men?" Because that whole concept had totally disappeared from my mind over this six year period.

When a person in Cuba goes to study in a university, the concept doesn't exist that if you're a woman you shouldn't study for a scientific career. The revolution needs the whole population to study sciences, to study agriculture, to study research on animal breeding, etc. At this point women comprise 50 percent of those studying to be doctors, and you'll find a similar proportional representation of women in electrical and chemical engineering.

No need to count

When I went out to the institute of animal and farm science, there were more women than men in some classes. In others there was an equal representation. But the last thing that occurred to me when I was out there visiting was to count how many women were there. It was just expected that it would be about equal to men. So that is one area of backward thinking that I would say has been totally eradicated.

Another thing that is convincing a growing number of men and women that previous concepts regarding women's physical abilities were false is the massive participation of women in the voluntary agricultural work sessions.

For instance, working in a coffee field is just as hard physical work as cutting cane. There is a myth that cane cutting is the hardest physical work because of the fact that sugar cane and tobacco were the only large-scale crops grown in Cuba before the revolution.

But since the revolution, Cuba has begun expanding some other crops, like coffee. Agriculture had to be developed with very primitive methods because Cuba has been unable to import the necessary amount of machinery. So women went out and hoed fields and opened coffee holes, where the seedlings were planted.

Evelyn Reed in her pamphlet *Problems of Women's Liberation* mentions an invention of primitive women, the digging stock. That's how the majority of coffee holes were opened—with an iron version of the primitive women's digging stock. And you have to use all your energy to open a hole two feet wide and two feet deep.

New view

I remember that the men I was working with said they much preferred to cut cane than to do that kind of work.

And in the fields a funny kind of thing would happen. The first couple of days some guy might make jokes about working alongside women. But when we got started working, it was a different matter.

There were only so many people and a great many holes had to be opened. And in the process of the work, that whole concept that it was a joke for a woman to be digging would also disappear. Those kinds of ideas don't last when you have 50 acres of holes to open.

So that kind of equality, established through work, has also done quite a bit to break down deeply ingrained prejudices against women, although I'm not saying that they have been totally broken down.

To illustrate how these prejudices are breaking down, I would like to mention a speech given by one of the Cuban leaders at an all-female agricultural plant. He said (and I'm summarizing the gist of it), "We were very amazed to find that these women who yesterday came out of their isolated little cubbyholes in the home were more disciplined and more ded-



icated in carrying out their excruciating, backbreaking work in the fields than the specially selected brigades of young Communist members." These were just ordinary housewives. Just think of how many years of social progress were lost in those cubbyholes.

Some of these leaders also admitted that they must have harbored a certain amount of male chauvinism, because they themselves did not understand the full capabilities of women until women actually came out of the homes and proved what they could do.

Running attack

The Cuban revolutionary leadership has, however, kept up a constant attack against male chauvinism, which they equate with counterrevolutionary ideas. One example was the speech Che Guevara gave to some factory workers in 1963, which was quoted in John Gerassi's book *Venceremos*.

In this speech, Che simply told the workers they should have elected more women to the party in their local election, in line with the proportion of women in the factory. He told them that the election of so few women reflected a kind of backward thinking that is just not apropos for a revolutionary period.

Women are extraordinarily important for our society, he said, and they have to be equally represented; you guys had better get over your hang-ups—he really laid it on them.

Other examples were the speeches given at the fifth plenary session of the Cuban Women's Federation. One of the revolutionary leaders made a speech in which he ran down the whole history of male chauvinism, specifically in Cuba, showing how this was rooted in the old society and how it was detrimental to the new society. It was at this same plenary session that Fidel said that the most important revolution taking place within the revolution was the revolution of women.

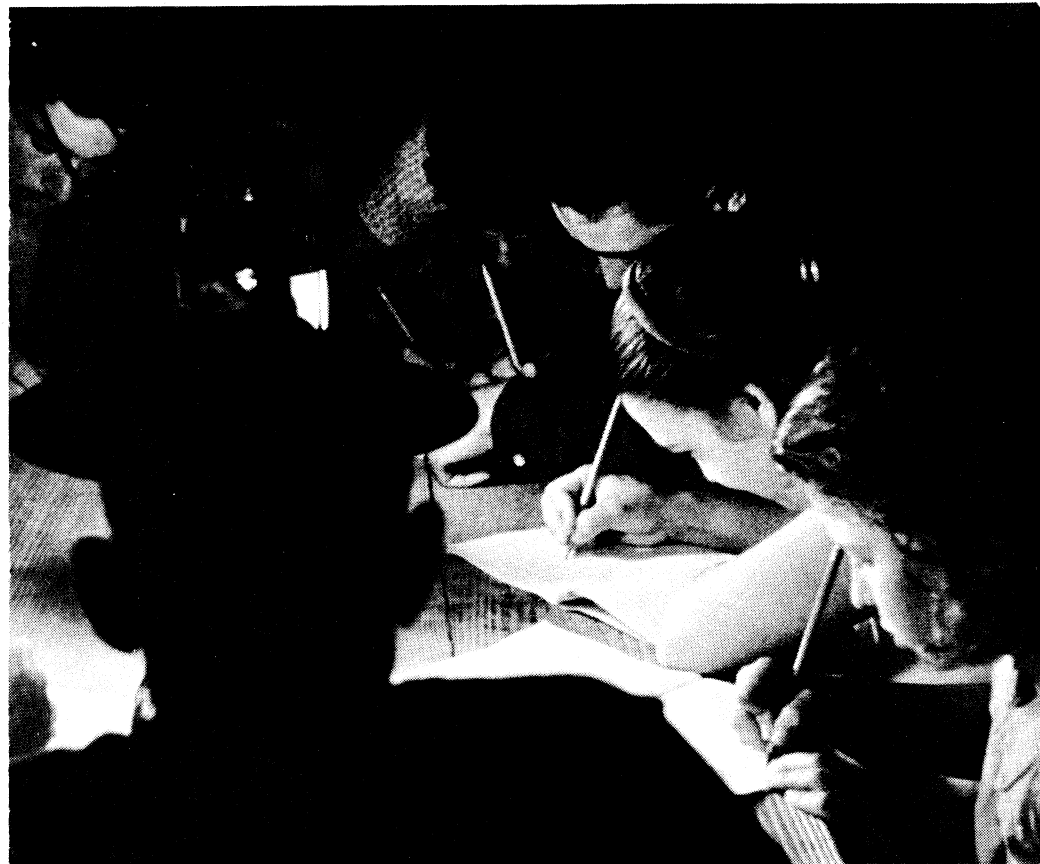
The most recent example of the efforts of the leadership to spur this revolution within the revolution could be seen in their response to the census that was taken about a year and a half ago. Through the census it was discovered that a significant number of women between the ages of 17 and 35 were neither working nor studying. This shocked everybody.

So the Cuban Women's Federation got together with the minister of la-



Cuban militia member

totally new concept of what a woman is'



REVOLUTIONARY EDUCATION. In 1961 thousands of Cuban youth went into the countryside to carry through a one-year campaign that virtually wiped out illiteracy. During that drive, for the first time, large numbers of young women traveled without traditional chaperoning.

bor, and they worked out a program to try to bring these women into production. They realized that for the society to support this large number of women, who were in a parasitic position, was holding back the revolution.

It was decided that members of the Cuban Women's Federation would go house to house talking to each of these women. Often they would have deep political discussions with them. They would try to recruit these women to the labor force, based on the particular skills they had, and also to encourage them to attend the betterment classes if they did not have skills, or to go on to the university.

After a period of time, a progress report was given. The Cuban Women's Federation had been able to recruit to the labor force a great number of women who were previously not productive in any way.

But in this report, given jointly by Vilma Espin, the head of the Cuban Women's Federation, and Captain Risquet, the minister of labor, both reporters publicly criticized the backward ideas of some of the administrators who had created difficulties for the project.

Some administrators would ask why so many women had to work in their plant. Sometimes they would use the fact that there weren't enough child-care centers and would say, "Well, if this woman doesn't have her child in a child-care center she can't work here. If the child gets sick she'll have to leave work to take him home. What are you sending me all these women for?"

Revolutionary response

And the answer given by the revolutionary government was: if that is the situation, and we haven't been able to solve it yet, that still is not a justification for forcing women to stay at home. They have every right to work and lead their own lives. Therefore, they said, what we're going to do is send you 11 women, if you need ten workers. And if the women can only work shifts of four hours a day, then we'll send you 22 women. The main point they made is that nothing could stand in the way of women being able to take on work. It should also be mentioned that no matter what work schedule was agreed upon, the women received pay equivalent to 8 hours work.

I think that is a very honest posi-

tion, given the conditions of scarcity faced by the Cuban revolution, where almost all essential things—concrete, petroleum, flour—must be imported from a great distance. I think that given the circumstances Cuba has taken the best attitude toward women of any of the other workers states.

Here I would like to say a few words about the child-care situation in Cuba. A couple of days ago I had a chance to look through a booklet that listed all the child-care centers in New York City, the richest city in the richest country in the world. The booklet covered all five boroughs, about eight million people, a little more than the population of Cuba.

When I counted up all the child-care centers with "no fee," the grand total came to 121! And of those 121, there were only two centers for retarded children, two for deaf children and two for blind children.

A comparison

Compare this abysmal situation with Cuba, which began its public nursery program in 1961 and by 1969 had 375 free child-care centers, where meals and all medical care are free. This is in a very poor country with nothing but sugar to start with. And furthermore, the attitude of the Cubans is that 375 child-care centers are only a drop in the bucket. They are very ashamed of that number and are taking steps to improve it.

A process has also started taking place in the family. The Cuban government cannot just come out and say, "We abolish the family." There may be a few people who are very advanced in their thinking, but this is not the way the whole population feels about the family.

There is, however, the beginning of a de facto loosening of the family without it being announced. For instance, there are huge agricultural projects which were totally run by women in their initial stages. Now facilities are being built where the male friends, husbands and children can come to spend time with the women.

You also have the Isle of Youth (formerly Isle of Pines) development, where youth come to work and to study agronomy and agricultural development. Large numbers of young women leave their families and go off to work on the Isle of Youth.

They say to their fiancés, "If you want to come with me to work, fine. Otherwise we'll see each other in two

years, and if we still like each other, we'll continue, but I'm going off to work on the Isle of Youth."

Then you also have the mobilization for the sugar cane harvest, which takes many men away from their families for a large part of the year. The loosening of the family structure has probably picked up speed this year due to the special mobilizations for the 10-million-ton harvest. And it's not just the men who have been mobilized, but women also have been mobilized, to take over the jobs that the men have left and to help in agriculture.

So the family is slowly beginning to disperse. People are coming to realize that the family is not an essential need.

What really counts

For instance, when Fidel announced that Christmas would not be officially celebrated in Cuba last year, there was a bit of a shock, because Christmas was the one time of the year when you were definitely supposed to be with your family. But the general response of people was, "Well, we've got to eat," so they got the cane cut. They realized that was more important.

One last example to show the changes occurring in the family and in women's image is Mothers Day in Cuba. This was always a very important day in Cuba. They didn't just have Mothers Day; they had Doctors Day, Dentists Day, etc. These were very established occasions, when you would send cards to your dentist, your doctor, your mother, etc.

In the schools, for example, the change began by showing the children a different picture of their mothers. Your mother is a woman who goes out and works in the fields, they were taught. Or your mother is a woman who works in a factory. The kids would begin to bring home cards saying "Happy Mothers Day" with a picture of an agricultural worker pasted on it.

Last Mothers Day the school children had a discussion of a South Vietnamese heroine. There was a beautiful photograph of her published in *Granma*. So the children had a little lesson about this Vietnamese heroine and the role that women are playing in the Vietnamese revolution and in the front lines of the guerrilla struggle. And all the children pasted that picture on their Mothers Day cards.

New generation

So that slowly, without stepping on people's feelings, a new generation is being educated in a totally new concept of what a woman is and what a woman's capabilities are. And they are not only being educated in new concepts; they are living a new reality. Whatever vestiges of the old ideas still exist are coming into constant conflict with the new society, and they certainly are not accepted at all among the younger generation.

Now, Cuba doesn't represent the classless socialist society, which can only be achieved on a world scale when the richest countries, the imperialist countries, have achieved socialist revolutions. But Cuba does give us an idea of what progress can be made for women when capitalism is abolished. And what Cuba has been able to do is especially significant because of its poverty and the fact that its economy was so warped by imperialism — all it had was sugar. Imagine what can be done when the world's resources are available to a socialist society!

It's because of this vision of what it will be possible for people to do under socialism that I am a revolutionary. And if the Cuban women were able to play such a courageous role in making the Cuban revolution and in maintaining the gains of that revolution against the U. S., only 90 miles away, then we should be able to do it here

too. So I invite you to join in this task, and to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

As revolutionary women, we understand that there are millions of women who will move on the issues of free abortion on demand, free 24-hour child-care centers and equal jobs and education, who at this moment are only beginning to question their oppression.

Our responsibility as revolutionary women at this moment in history is to go out there and build the independent women's liberation movement. By doing this, we will achieve two things: first, these women will win victories through their struggles, gain confidence, and become a powerful force in helping to make a socialist revolution. And secondly, if we can build an independent, broad women's liberation movement prior to our revolution, then women themselves will be a power that can guarantee that steps toward their complete liberation will be one of the first things on the agenda after the revolution.

NEW MERIT PAMPHLETS

DOUGLAS BRAVO SPEAKS

Interview with
Venezuelan Guerrilla
Leader .25

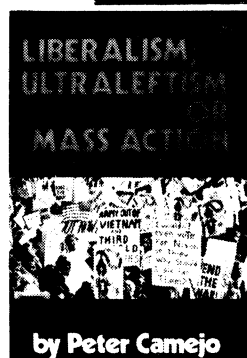
Here Bravo discusses theories of guerrilla war, the role of the revolutionary party and rumors of his reported break with Fidel Castro.



LIBERALISM, ULTRALEFTISM OR MASS ACTION

by Peter Camejo .25

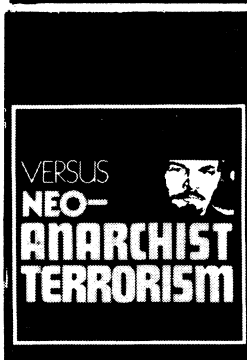
The abridged text of a speech given in NYC in June concerning the political conjuncture in this country following the events of May 1970.



MARXISM VERSUS NEO-ANARCHIST TERRORISM

by George Novack .25

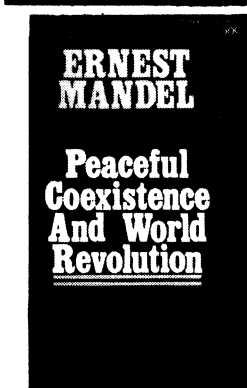
The history and the question of the revolutionary efficacy of terrorism are discussed in this pamphlet.



PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND WORLD REVOLUTION

by Ernest Mandel .50

A historical study of the two main approaches to the interrelations of class struggle and the contradictions between capitalist and workers states.



MARXIST THEORY OF ALIENATION

Ernest Mandel and
George Novack .95

The broad attention focused on the condition of alienation shows that we are confronted by the symptoms of a morbid and acute social sickness. The two essays in this pamphlet undertake to analyze that endemic condition of capitalism from the Marxist point of view.



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Abortion discussion

The abortion issue has been a subject of debate within the women's liberation movement and also within the Black liberation movement. Some have raised the argument that it is wrong to fight for legalized abortion because abortions are assertedly used as a racist weapon of genocide. This argument is advanced by spokesmen for the Black Panther Party (see statement this page).

An opposing view is presented in the statement on this page by Frances Beal of the Third World Women's Alliance and Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and in the article by Maxine Williams, a member of the Third World Women's Alliance and Young Socialist Alliance.



March 1970 New York demonstration

Are legalized abortions 'racist genocide'?

By MAXINE WILLIAMS

There is a great deal of debate in the women's liberation movement on the question of abortion. Some women claim that the demand for free abortion on demand should not be supported because it is seen in the Third World community as a form of genocide.

This position was given a boost when the July 4 *Black Panther* newspaper came out in opposition to the recently passed New York abortion law, which makes abortions legal if performed by a doctor before 24 weeks of pregnancy.

There is a contradiction between the Panther's position of opposing male chauvinism and at the same time denying women the right to control their own bodies. There is also a contradiction between urging Black women to leave the kitchen and participate in the revolutionary struggle and at the same time expecting them to spend their time and energy reproducing and caring for "revolutionary babies."

Those who urge the Black woman to reject abortion as "legalized murder," as the Panthers do, will be driv-

ing her into the hands of illegal murderers: butchers, alcoholics, cab drivers, and other incompetent parasites on the plight of poor women.

Black women unable to obtain an abortion will be forced to resort to such lethal instruments as knitting needles, coat hangers and soap solutions. If these methods do not prove fatal, she generally ends up in a hospital and often must undergo a hysterectomy to save her life.

Black women, denied the choice of a legal abortion, are also subject to exploitation by pharmacists who charge her for useless pills, kerosene, castor oil and other "abortifacients."

It is estimated that 80 percent of the deaths from illegal abortions have occurred among non-white women. Lawrence Lader, in his book *Abortion* (Beacon Press, 1966), writes:

"Thus minority groups are punished doubly by the viciousness of the system. Not only are they granted a pitifully small number of legal abortions; at the same time, they are forced into the underworld of abortion, into the grasp of hacks and butchers. The result has been an abnormally high percentage of abortion deaths."

The concept that abortion is "murder" did not always exist in the United States. This concept was promoted by the churches and by the ruling class to justify the laws passed after the Civil War making abortion illegal. Prior to the Civil War there was a common-law doctrine whereby women were free to obtain an abortion in early pregnancy.

The reason these abortion laws were passed was to increase the birth rate at a time when the economy was expanding; to produce more workers for factories and agriculture. As usual, women were not consulted as to whether they wanted to become breeders. Their desires and rights were not taken into account.

Before the new abortion law was passed this year in New York, Bellevue Hospital, which serves a large number of Third World patients, was performing only one abortion per 362 live births. Third World women were often forced to submit to sterilization as a condition for obtaining an abortion. Abortion was seen as "sinful" and as "murder." Therefore, by forcing a woman to sign a statement submitting to sterilization, she was punished.

If a woman refused to submit to sterilization, then she was forced to bear an unwanted child against her will. When abortion is seen as a legal right of all women, it will be much more difficult for doctors to get away with forced sterilization of Black women.

Last year when a family planning clinic was chased out of Philadelphia by some brothers, welfare mothers

were forced to organize and request that the family planning unit be brought back into the community. There is no doubt that Black women will also demand that hospitals open their doors and facilities to safe abortions, and at the same time they will organize against forced sterilization.

The real fight of Black women on this issue is not to oppose the abortion law but to organize against forced sterilization and demand that hospitals have the proper facilities and use safe methods in performing abortions. What we must demand is that the medical staff be adequately trained, that working conditions are good and, most important, that Black and Third World people control all the hospitals and institutions in our communities in order to assure that they serve our needs.

The Panther position is one of forced motherhood. It can be used to keep women in the position of breeding instruments. The Panther editorial states that "part of our revolutionary strength lies in the fact that we outnumber the pigs. . . ." However, real revolutionary strength comes not only from numbers but from the revolutionary consciousness of the masses. Our problem as Black revolutionaries, and particularly revolutionary Black women, is not to produce the masses to make the revolution. Substantial masses of oppressed and revolting Black people already exist, and the job of revolutionaries—both men and women—is to organize those masses and lead a struggle against our oppression.

Sen. Edward Kennedy takes dim view of women's rights

By CHRIS HILDEBRAND
BOSTON, Mass. — On Aug. 31, Sen. Edward Kennedy held a question-and-answer session at Belmont High School during his "meet the people" campaign. Some 500 people attended, many of them from Belmont, a conservative, well-to-do, suburban community near Boston.

The first questioners Kennedy approached with his mobile mike were women who challenged his refusal to support the Equal Rights Amendment. Kennedy tried to counter the challenge by claiming that present laws were adequate. We shouldn't clutter up the courts, he suggested, and besides minority groups are worse off than women.

This fell flat when Pauli Murray, a prominent Black woman who teaches law at Brandeis University, spoke. As a Black person and as a woman, she declared, she had found that there

Panther stand on abortion

The following is from the July 4, 1970, *Black Panther* newspaper regarding the liberalized New York abortion law which went into effect on July 1, 1970.

"But most of all it [the new abortion law] is a victory for the oppressive ruling class who will use this law to kill off Black and other oppressed people before they are born. To the Black woman, the welfare mothers, it is an announcement of death before birth. Black women love children, and now in order to see to it that they do not starve, that they do not have to be ashamed of having to wear improper clothing, that they do not have to suffer all the degradation of this racist, capitalist society, they will kill them before they are born.

"Black women love large families and the only reason that they would want to eliminate them is to rid them of the pain and the agony of trying to survive. . . .

"Black women will reject this 'legalized murder' just as they rejected the attempt to force family planning in the guise of pills and coils. . . .

"Black people know that part of our revolutionary strength lies in the fact that we outnumber the pigs—and the pigs realize this too."

was little difference between the two.

When a young woman challenged Kennedy for his support of reactionary abortion laws, he was visibly shaken. His voice rose as he compared abortion to the napalming of babies in Vietnam. With ill-concealed contempt for women, he questioned their right to decide on abortion. It was too important an issue, he implied, to be left to women.

Audience reaction was divided between hisses and applause. Members of NOW and Female Liberation and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign participated in the questioning.

The Massachusetts Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee will appreciate those hearing of future meetings for Kennedy notifying the committee at 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307, Boston, Mass. 02115; telephone: 536-6981.

'Black women should practice family planning'

The following are excerpts from remarks made by Frances Beal at a July 17 Militant Labor Forum symposium in New York.

"We believe that Black women should practice family planning. They decide when, where, how many and how often they should have children. As a last resort, however, if other methods have failed or there has been some slip-up, an abortion should be made available.

"However, we cannot leave those health services in the hands of the enemy. I think what we're basically talking about again is community control of those health services. I believe there has to be a massive movement around the question of community control of the health facilities that affect the lives of our people."

Regarding the position on abortion taken by the *Black Panther* newspaper, Frances Beal said:

"I think it's outrageous, because they mix fact and fiction together. I am just as outraged about the perpetration of genocide on Black people as they are, but to project the idea that Black women are going to be breeders of the coming army, and that is going to be their role, is something I think is really outrageous, male chauvinist and counterrevolutionary."

How the CP twists 'Black-white unity'

A vote hustle for the Democrats

By BARRY SHEPPARD

In a series of four articles (*The Militant*, June 19, July 10, July 24, and Aug. 7), Barry Sheppard analyzed an attack on revolutionary socialism presented by Communist Party leader Mike Zagarell in a New York speech May 22 under the title, "The Inside Job—Trotzkyism in the Movement." A somewhat edited version of Zagarell's talk has now been published and is being distributed by the Young Workers Liberation League. The analysis of the CP's position on the questions raised by Zagarell will be continued in future articles.

Mike Zagarell charges the Socialist Workers Party with "capitulation to racism" in relation to the antiwar movement. We have already discussed this charge. But what about the Black struggle itself? What is the current CP position on this important question?

The central point of Zagarell's position on the Black struggle is the appeal for "Black-white unity."

"What is more revolutionary than Black-white unity?" he roared to the approval of the assembled CPers at his forum against Trotskyism.

One is tempted to answer him quite simply: Black nationalism is more revolutionary than "Black-white unity," as that phrase has concrete meaning at the present time.

The question is not whether "Black-white unity" in the abstract is good or bad. The question is, What kind of unity for what purpose? Bitter experience has taught that a real alliance of Blacks with other forces will not be an alliance of *equals* unless Blacks enter such alliances on their own terms and through their own independent organizations. The independent organization of Blacks, the creation of their own independent force, is a prerequisite for alliances which really further the interests of Black people.

As Malcolm X put it, "There can be no Black-white unity until there is first some Black unity. There can be no workers solidarity until there is first some racial solidarity."

Second, "Black-white unity" as an abstract phrase or goal is meaningless at best, and a pandering to liberal anti-Black-nationalist sentiment at worst. "Unity" can be achieved only in struggle for concrete goals, and on the basis of the recognition of the validity of the independent demands of the Black people and their right to independent organizations. In the final analysis, unity in action between the white workers and the Black people will be achieved to the extent that white workers are won over to support the struggle of Blacks for their complete self-determination.

The struggle of Black people against their oppression as a nationality, as a people, for self-determination, is a profoundly revolutionary one. It is aimed directly at U. S. capitalism, just as the struggle of the Vietnamese for self-determination is. It is especially explosive because of the fact that it occurs right here on American soil,

and due to the proletarian nature of the Black population, is deeply intertwined with the general working-class struggle.

The Communist Party, however, greeted the rise of Black nationalism with hostility. In 1963, the CP newspaper, *The Worker*, had this to say: "The Muslim organization in general, and Malcolm X in particular, are ultra-reactionary forces operating in the orbit of the Negro people's movement. . . . Malcolm X in no sense of the word can be considered a leader of the Negro people, he is an agent of their enemies and consequently an opponent of their progress."

Now the CP doesn't talk like that today. As Zagarell said at his forum when confronted by someone in the audience with the above statement, the CP wouldn't say the "same things" about Malcolm X today. But this doesn't represent any fundamental change on their part, only an opportunist adaptation in language to the tremendous upsurge of Black nationalism. Their basic line, however, remains "Black-white unity," by which they mean something quite specific and not at all revolutionary.

"Black-white unity" is used by the CP as a slogan to counter the independent thrust of Black nationalism. This flows from the fundamental strategy of the Communist Party we have been discussing in this series of articles: their subordination of all struggles to support of the Democratic Party.

In almost every issue of the CP's newspapers—the *Daily World* and the

West Coast *People's World*—there are articles plugging for Black Democratic Party candidates. In the June 6 issue of *People's World*, for example, the victory of Ron Dellums in the Oakland-Berkeley, California, Democratic Party primary is hailed as a "victory for Black representation" and for the antiwar movement.

In his forum (although it doesn't appear in the printed version of his speech), Zagarell sharply attacked the SWP and YSA for not "putting the main fire on the reactionaries." He was especially incensed at the Trotskyists' opposition to Black Democratic Party candidates, for example, to Mayor Carl Stokes in last year's campaign in Cleveland.

This same theme was taken up by A. Krchmarek in the January 1970 issue of *Political Affairs*, the CP's theoretical magazine, in an article hailing the Stokes victory in Cleveland. "In the course of the campaign," Krchmarek wrote, "the SWP candidate directed his main challenge and criticism on Stokes." This, he warned, "offered the promise of defeating Stokes by the diversion of the Left and progressive forces who would otherwise support him." If a "Left candidacy is to have any positive class value," Krchmarek added, "it must be directed precisely at the main forces of reaction, at the Right-wing and the enemies of the people."

Against this line of "Black-white unity" in the Democratic Party, the SWP and YSA seek to advance the independence of the Black struggle through a *break* with the Democratic

The late Malcolm X urged Black people not to be swindled into supporting either the racist Republican Party or the racist Democratic Party. The Communist Party responded by branding Malcolm a racist "agent."

Party. For, Mr. Krchmarek notwithstanding, the Democratic Party *is* the enemy of the Black people, *just as much* as the Republican Party is. Both are political instruments of the ruling class and both perpetuate the oppression of Black people.

Instead of urging Black people to support Democratic Party candidates, Black or white, the SWP and YSA seek to further the concept of an independent Black political party that could mobilize the Black community on all fronts in the battle for Black liberation. This puts us at loggerheads with the CP's class-collaborationist line of support to the Democratic Party.

Partial court victory in GI rights case

NEW YORK—A federal court ruled Aug. 27 that the Army brass must specify which articles it objects to in a GI antiwar newspaper or face a court order permitting distribution of the paper on Army posts.

The ruling by the fourth circuit court of appeals in Richmond, Va., came in a decision on an appeal by GIs at Ft. Bragg, N. C., from a district court decision that denied their motion for a preliminary injunction that would force the Ft. Bragg brass to allow on-post distribution of their paper, *Bragg Briefs*.

The court also upheld a lower court's decision denying Ft. Jackson, S. C., GIs the right to hold antiwar meetings on post.

Although the appeal court upheld the district court decision in the *Bragg Briefs* case, it remanded the case back to the lower court on the grounds that "the district court should also find which articles, specifically, constituted a basis for the decision to exclude and why the commanding general deemed them a 'clear danger to the loyalty, discipline and morale' of the military personnel at Ft. Bragg. Only upon a complete record supplying these facts can it be determined whether the commanding general had a proper basis for denying the applications, whether he acted consistently with Army directives and, ultimately, whether his actions deprived appellants of their First Amendment rights."

This is the first time the federal courts have challenged a commanding officer's arbitrary denial of the right of GIs to distribute antiwar literature on a post.

Both suits stemmed from the activity

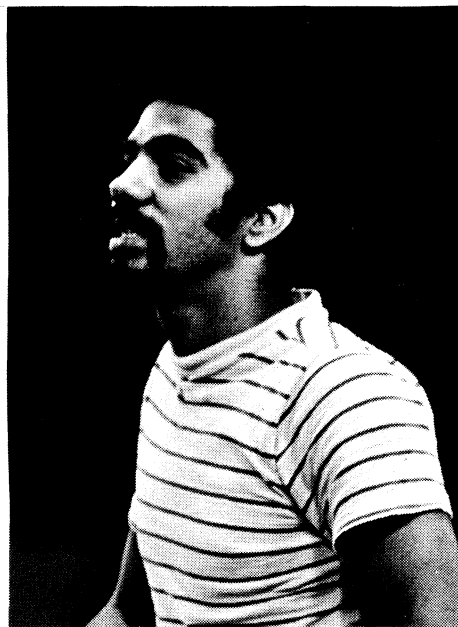
of GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, an antiwar group organized in the winter of 1969 at Ft. Jackson and later that spring at Ft. Bragg. The Ft. Jackson suit was filed April 1, 1969, when a petition circulated by GIs United demanding permission to hold an open meeting on post was denied by the brass. Attorneys Leonard Boudin and Dorian Bowman of New York, David Rein of Washington, D. C., and Howard Moore of Atlanta are counsel to the Jackson GIs. The Ft. Bragg motion was filed in September 1969 by attorneys Leonard Boudin and David Rosenberg of New York, David Rein, and Laughlin McDonald of Chapel Hill, N. C. Both suits are being pursued in association with the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee.

GIs in ever larger numbers are demanding the right to engage in legal antiwar activity. During the past year, antiwar soldiers throughout the U. S. and abroad have been publishing underground antiwar newspapers and requesting permission to distribute them on post. In every case, permission has been denied.

Commenting on the Ft. Bragg ruling, Stacey Seigle, national secretary of the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee, said, "The appeal court's decision to remand the case for further proceedings provides the first breakthrough for GIs by challenging the Army to pinpoint its objections to antiwar literature with precision. This means the court will impose First Amendment tests to the Army's actions, and in the future, we hope, GIs will be able to demand that any denial of distribution rights be accom-

panied by an explanation of such denial and further that even such explanations will be subject to federal-court scrutiny under the freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment."

Boudin called the decision a "qualified victory" and said he hoped to be able to cross-examine Ft. Bragg commanding general John Tolson before the North Carolina district court by the first of the year. Boudin also announced that both the Bragg and Jackson decisions would be appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court.



Joe Miles, SWP candidate for U. S. Congress from Boston, was a founder of GIs United Against the War at Ft. Bragg. Before that he helped found the GIs United at Ft. Jackson, S. C.

The "Population Explosion"

How Socialists View It by Joseph Hansen

A lively refutation of Thomas Malthus's theory that the human population increases geometrically while the food supply increases only arithmetically.

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Auto negotiations

UAW goes for wage boost; companies want discipline

By FRANK LOVELL

Serious bargaining over wages and working conditions in the auto industry began in Detroit on schedule, Sept. 1, when the "Big Three" auto makers—General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler—formally submitted a wage offer to the United Auto Workers for a new three-year contract to replace the present one, which expires Sept. 14.

The offer was low. For the first year an auto worker who now gets \$4 an hour would get a 30-cent raise. In the second and third years, his pay would go up about 12 cents more each year. GM proposed that workers share future increases in medical costs, which are presently paid in full by the corporations. They also suggested low pay for all newly hired workers for the first 90 days on the job.

The corporations submitted their "early retirement plan," which would provide \$500 a month for workers who retire at age 60 after 30 years service, effective Jan. 1, 1972.

The present cost-of-living allowance (COL), which was negotiated in 1967 and is much more limited than the COL won by the UAW in 1948, would remain. Corporation spokesmen state they are adamant on this issue. Regardless of rises in the cost of living, they insist, no wage increase can on this account exceed the present 16-cents-an-hour limit over the three-year life of the contract.

Malcolm L. Denise, Ford's man, explained that Ford suffered a long strike in 1967 to win the COL ceiling and "we're not disposed to give it up lightly."

These terms of the corporations were rejected out of hand by UAW negotiators. Leonard Woodcock, UAW president, insists that a new COL clause must be written into the new contract.

Union demands have been stated

and developed since the opening of formal negotiations on July 15. On the crucial issues, the UAW official position is the following:

Wages. "A UAW member must be paid enough wages so he can support his family comfortably, and he must be assured of a reasonable income when his company doesn't provide him work."

Rising prices. "Inflation must not be allowed to erode the purchasing power of workers. . . . The ceilings on the amount of cost-of-living allowances must be eliminated. . . . The COL allowance must be adjusted every three months, using the largest index figure for a single month. The ratio of raises to changes in the [U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics] index must be improved."

Unemployment. "The union proposes that each company set aside one-half percent of its payroll each year to pay layoff benefits."

Health Care. "The union is calling for a prepaid dental plan."

Early Retirement. "Voluntary retirement after 30 years service (regardless of age) with a minimum \$500 monthly pension."

These positions were fully described in the August 1970 issue of *Solidarity*, an official UAW publication which reviews the aims of the union.

Both union and company spokesmen have indicated that their positions on wages are still flexible.

A key issue

The issues that divide union and management most sharply are the COL clause and management's demand that the union agree to and help enforce more severe discipline of workers in the auto plants.

At the start of formal negotiations, GM submitted a "position paper" on the latter question. It admitted that union representatives "generally take a reasonable approach to management's efforts to correct employee behavior problems," but it complained bitterly that "a significant number of local union representatives do everything they can to frustrate the disciplinary process no matter how clear they employee's fault and how aggravated the offense." This is a question that the corporations hope to resolve in their favor through a clear understanding with top UAW officials, even if the contract language which guarantees management's "right to manage" is not strengthened.

Top union spokesmen, for their part, appear anxious to revise and improve the cost-of-living clause in the new contract. The COL was designed originally to ensure that real wages would not be undermined during the life of the contract by rising prices.

Under the present COL clause, wages increase one cent an hour every three months for each four-tenths of a point the Consumer Price Index rises. The union now proposes to change this to allow for a penny increase in wages for a rise of three-tenths of a point in the index. And above all, it is demanding that no ceiling be placed on wages. This would allow real wages to remain more nearly constant as inflation continues.

This issue is understood and appreciated by rank-and-file auto workers, and the authority of the union leadership depends heavily upon it. Typical of the discussion that goes on in the shops and that occasionally spills over into the local union newspapers is the following from the June 1970 *Fleetwood Organizer*, official publica-



UAW negotiators (from left), Fraser, Woodcock, Bannon and Bluestone.

tion of the UAW Fleetwood Local. The writer, John W. Anderson, is a past president of the local and one of the original advocates of the 1948 cost-of-living clause. Anderson reviews the history down to the present.

"Walter Reuther sold the 1967 contract to the membership," Anderson writes, "by declaring that it imposed no financial sacrifice on the auto workers. Now we learn that because of the 16-cent ceiling placed on COL increases during the life of the contract, the workers have lost 26 cents per hour. In 1967, the UAW leadership said any loss sustained because of the 16-cent limitation would be immediately restored the day the contract ended, Sept. 14, 1970. Now we get a different story from Ford and GM."

Anderson concluded, "Leonard Woodcock and the rest of the UAW leadership are in trouble with the membership because of the deception used in selling the 1967 contract to the UAW membership."

It has been estimated that every auto worker has received \$1,000 less during the past three years than he would have gotten under the pre-1967 formula.

Like the past

The UAW strategy in the present situation was announced Sept. 2. It is not essentially different from methods of the UAW leadership in past negotiations, which have sometimes led to limited strike action, as in 1967.

This time top UAW leaders say that if no agreement is reached by Sept. 15, part of the industry will be closed down. In 1967 Ford was struck for seven weeks. Now both Chrysler and GM have been named as strike targets.

While presented as a departure from the one-at-a-time strike strategy traditionally adopted by the UAW leadership, it amounts to nothing more than a variant of the usual attempt to divide the powerful "Big Three" in this monopoly-controlled industry. A strike against one company, the argument goes, hurts it more and leads to a quicker settlement if its "competitors" are allowed to continue production. The fallacy is that in this industry there are no competitors.

This so-called "selective strike" technique allows the auto industry to continue production, thus not impairing the "national economy." It also guarantees longer strikes during which basic issues are resolved by negotiations while each side pursues a policy of attrition. Past experience has proved that this type of strike is a greater threat to those workers who must remain off the job, unable to find other employment elsewhere, than it is to the entrenched corporations.

If a strike is called, about 40 of GM's 157 facilities will not be affected because they make parts for other companies. However, there will be 375,000 GM workers in the U.S. and Canada called out. Another 120,000 workers in Chrysler will strike.

Strike benefits paid by the UAW are low, yet the union strike fund of \$120-million would be depleted in two months or less.

On Sept. 3, one day after announcing the Chrysler and GM strike targets,

UAW officials were able to say that the Teamsters union had pledged to lend \$25-million to help their strike and the Steelworkers union offered to lend another \$10-million.

Woodcock told a UAW meeting of Chrysler workers, "We don't give a damn about the strike fund." He later explained to news reporters that "a union without money isn't out of business. A union without money is a crusade."

Industry-wide bargaining

The concept of a crusade against the giant corporations of the auto industry to win improved working conditions, higher wages, shorter hours, and job security was at the heart of the strike strategy widely urged in the UAW after the 1964 UAW strike of 113 days against General Motors. In the wake of that strike, which in the end forced GM to settle on union terms, the militants of that day argued for industry-wide bargaining and strike action against the entire industry when negotiations break down.

Such a bold, head-on tactic has never yet been attempted in this industry. But it is the one sure way to force the auto monopoly to come to an early settlement. It places the needs of the workers before all other considerations, openly recognizes monopoly control of the industry, brings the best organized union of industrial workers into direct confrontation with the monopolists in this most highly profitable of all industries, and opens the way for a broadly based union campaign against the corrupt antisocial practices of the auto corporations.

In the course of such a campaign for workers' rights, the hundreds of thousands of strikers themselves would become involved in the demand to open the books of the corporations, which is what happened when the UAW raised this demand in the 1946 GM strike.

The need for workers' control over the greed of management is greater today than ever before. It is essential to safeguarding such basic interests of all workers as protection against the rising tide of unemployment, guarantees of stability in real wages, shorter working hours, improved working conditions, free medical care, and early retirement—all of which are included in some form by the UAW in its present list of demands.

In addition, the auto industry directly affects the lives of every member of our society. It is presently the worst polluter of the atmosphere by its products and its manufacturing processes.

This is another urgent reason why the UAW ought to demand now that this industry be brought under social control. And there is no social force today able to control it except the very workers who run the industry and who alone have the power to close it down.

This would be a crusade. It would be a crusade of the auto workers in the interest of all working men and women of this country, a crusade in the interest of humanity's survival.

This is not what UAW president Leonard Woodcock was thinking about when he mentioned that "a union without money is a crusade."

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Results of the election in Chile

By LES EVANS

Chileans went to the polls September 4 to deliver a smashing defeat to the ruling Christian Democratic party and an unexpected victory to Socialist presidential candidate Salvador Allende.

Final results gave Allende 1,075,616 votes (36.3%). He narrowly defeated former president Jorge Alessandri, candidate of the right-wing Partido Nacional, who received 1,036,278 votes (34.9%). The Christian Democrat, Radomiro Tomic, hand-picked heir to President Eduardo Frei, and until recently Chilean ambassador to Washington, ran a poor third, finishing with only 824,849 votes (27.8%).

Because Allende received only a plurality of the popular vote, the election is to be decided by congress at a session October 24. In the past the

congress has automatically selected the candidate with the larger vote, but it is not required to do so by law.

The election marked a sharp polarization in Chilean politics. Eduardo Frei's "Revolution in Liberty" that swept him to power in 1964 appeared finished. Even the future existence of his Christian Democrats seemed in doubt.

Frei's reputation as a protégé of Washington proved to be a liability for his candidate. Tomic's record as a Washington ambassador only further strengthened his image as the State Department's choice.

Rumors were circulated that the army would stage a coup rather than accept Allende as president. Whether

this was intended merely to frighten voters away from Allende or was a serious project, it was clear at least that the mysterious comings and goings of U.S. military personnel made even the Frei government nervous enough to publicly question Washington on its intentions.

It should be pointed out that the current election does not represent a sharp shift to the left. Even in 1964, at the time of the Christian Democratic landslide, the combined vote of the Communist, Socialist, and Radical parties amounted to 36 percent of the total, only .3 percent less than the September 4 results. What is new is the split among the bourgeois parties over whether or not to pursue Frei's program of capitalist reforms.

The Chilean Socialist party stands to the left of the Communist party, and Allende himself is in the left wing of his party. He is an open supporter of the Cuban revolution, and was in turn supported during his campaign by Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

The Communist party, however, is one of the most slavishly pro-Moscow in the world and adheres to a rigidly reformist and electoral scheme for the "democratic revolution." Its perspective for maintaining a viable majority in congress is to preserve the alliance with the Radical party at all costs and to win an important sector of the Christian Democrats.

Allende views himself as in the tradition of the Popular Front government of 1938.

Undoubtedly Allende's program is more radical, on paper, than the program of the Popular Front of 1938. But it remains to be seen what his bourgeois allies, present and prospective, will allow him to put into practice.

Intercontinental Press

Attempt made to silence Hugo Blanco

[The imprisoned Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco sent the following letter July 18 to the Lima press.]

Last week, "on orders from above," the El Frontón prison authorities took away my typewriter. According to official sources, this action was taken because I was using the machine to write "articles on agrarian reform" and "political fictions."

This attitude directly contradicts the claim of the government information office that I am being imprisoned here

for having "killed fellow human beings," and not for defending the rights of the peasants. I do not think they are afraid that I will "kill my fellow humans" with a typewriter.

There are some confused things in the government information report I mentioned that should be cleared up.

One of them is the claim of the government spokesmen that the policemen in question died "in the performance of their duty." Does this mean that their duty was to defend landlordism?

Another confused statement is the one that designates only the police who were killed as my "fellow men." Does this mean that the peasants who these police massacred do not deserve to be called "fellow humans"?

Sincerely,
Hugo Blanco

P. S. When it is the government information office that falsifies facts and slanders a prisoner, is the Press Law applied?

Big turnout for Panther convention

By DERRICK MORRISON
PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 7—Close to 10,000 people, about 70 percent of them Black, attended a Revolutionary People's Plenary session here this weekend sponsored by the Black Panther Party.

According to the *Black Panther* newspaper, the purpose of the plenary session was to "bring all progressive forces together for the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention, which will convene on Nov. 4, 1970."

The huge turnout stemmed from the police attacks on the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party that had occurred the Monday prior to the conference. In these early dawn raids on three Panther information centers, doors were axed and the places shot up. Sleeping Panthers responded with self-defense at two of the centers. The thing that shocked a lot of people were pictures of armed police ordering Panthers to strip naked in their search for weapons. Out of these raids, 14 Panthers, including four sisters, were arrested and placed in jail on \$100,000 bail each.

The subsequent statements of Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo added fuel to the fire of enraged public opinion. He made statements like, "We need 2,000 more policemen to stop them.

The only thing we can do now is buy tanks and start mounting machine guns. . . . It's sedition. This is no longer a crime but revolution. It must be stopped even if we have to change some of the laws to do it."

This kind of talk was seen as threatening everybody's civil liberties and specifically the right of the Panthers to hold the plenary.

In response, a group of Philadelphia businessmen came out in support of the right of the Panthers to peaceful assembly. Temple University, where the conference was held, waived the requirement that the Panthers post \$2-million in liability insurance before convening the plenary. The Black community responded by housing and feeding the people attending the plenary.

On Sept. 4, in response to a suit filed by the Panther Party, a federal judge ordered the Philadelphia police not to violate the constitutional rights of the Panthers. In addition, common pleas court judges freed the 14 arrested Panthers by lowering their bail from \$100,000 to amounts ranging between \$100 and \$5,000 each.

Speakers at the plenary included Michael Cetewayo Tabor of the New York Panther 21 and Huey P. Newton, minister of defense of the Black Panther Party.

Set N.Y. protest for British guards

NEW YORK—A demonstration protesting the propaganda visit to the United States by the Black Watch and Coldstream Guards of the British Army will be held outside Madison Square Garden, Wed., Sept. 16. The two British regiments have been on duty in Belfast repressing Irish demands for civil rights.

The demonstration is sponsored by the recently formed United Front Against British and U.S. Imperialism, which includes Democratia, a Greek and Cypriot organization, I Wor Kuen, an Asian-American group, the

Pan African Student Organization, the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union, the National Association for Irish Justice, the Pan African Congress of South Africa, and the Afro-Caribbean Mobilization Committee.

The United Front will hold a party Saturday, Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m., at St. Peter's Church, 346 West 20th Street. Tickets are \$2.

For further information contact the United Front Against British and U.S. Imperialism, 210 East 23rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10010; telephone: 689-7437.

The workshops ranged from gay liberation and women's liberation to national liberation. The workshop reports on Saturday night, which were to lay the basis for writing a new constitution, consisted of much ultraleft rhetoric about "picking up the gun," "serving the people," "fascism," and "offing the pig."

The plenary reflects the fact that the Panthers are still in a crisis in respect to program and action.

No attempt was made to map out the political and legal defense of the many Panther political prisoners.

CALENDAR

ATLANTA

THE RECENT STRUGGLE IN SUMMERHILL. Speakers: Mrs. Mattie Ansley, spokeswoman from the Summerhill community; and Sam Manuel of the SWP. Fri., Sept. 18, 8 p.m. Militant Bookstore Froum. 1176 1/2 West Peachtree St. 75c donation.

BOSTON

MILITANT LABOR FORUM OF THE AIR: "Socialist Workers Party Candidates in Massachusetts." Tuesday, Sept. 15, 6-7 p.m. WTBS-FM, 88.1. For more information call 536-6981.

DETROIT

CHICANOS AND THE STRUGGLE TO END THE WAR—A REPORT FROM LOS ANGELES. Speaker: Mariana Hernandez, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Texas. Fri., Sept. 18, 8 p.m. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50 c. Ausp. Socialist Workers Campaign Committee.

CLEVELAND

CARL STOKES AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY: AN ANSWER TO THE 'URBAN CRISIS'? Speaker: Syd Stapleton, SWP candidate for Congress (22nd district) and former SWP candidate for mayor. Fri., Sept. 18, 8 p.m. 2921 Prospect Ave. Donation: \$1, h.s. students 50c. For more information call 861-3862. Ausp. Debs Hall Forum.

NEW YORK

BLACK AMERICA AND THE ARAB REVOLUTION. Speaker: Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for Congress from Harlem, just back from a tour of the Middle East. Fri., Sept. 18, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway (nr. 18th St.). Contrib: \$1, h.s. students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.



Prensa Latina photo

Salvador Allende

FIRST TIME IN ENGLISH:

The German Puzzle

By Leon Trotsky

In the September 21 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. First published in the radical German weekly *Die Weltbühne* in November 1932, on the eve of Hitler's rise to power, this incisive article has never before been translated into English.

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'End-the-war' bill was bill of goods

By DICK ROBERTS

● On Aug. 12, the U.S. Senate defeated by a vote of 52 to 47 a proposal to cut off funds for the expansion of the Safeguard missile "defense" system (ABM).

● On Aug. 20, the Senate voted down an attempt to at least limit ABM development to the two bases where the ABM program is already underway. The vote was 53 to 45.

● On Aug. 26, the Senate blocked an attempt to restrict the Pentagon from advancing \$200-million to the Lockheed Corp. for the C-5A troop-transport aircraft program. The vote was 48 to 30.

● The same day, the Senate rejected by 62 to 22 a bill to stop the Army from using herbicides in Southeast Asia.

● Two days later, Aug. 28, the Senate defeated a proposal to slash \$5-billion from the Nixon administration's 1971 fiscal year military appropriations bill. The vote was 42 to 31.

● On Sept. 1, the Senate voted down the McGovern-Hatfield "Amendment to End the War." The vote was 55 to 39.

● And on the same day it voted overwhelmingly, 84 to 5, to provide the full military funding originally requested by the Nixon administration for fiscal year 1971. This is about \$20-billion for the procurement of planes, tanks, ships, guns and missiles and for future military research and development.

Last July 24, Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.) explained that "Without counting medium-range missiles or bombers, or any increase in strength due to the MIRVs of either the Minuteman or Polaris submarines, we now have at least 4,200 total force loadings. This is 10 times the number



Senator Church: "I find it hard to see how an argument could be made that this action in any way constitutes a slap at the President."

needed to kill 74 million Russians or 30 percent of their population and to destroy 75 percent of their industry. . . .

"We are now moving on through this bill and other bills to increase our official nuclear force loadings from 4,200 to 9,600. . . ."

Yet Senator Proxmire and all but five of his "dove" colleagues ended up voting for this massive increase in the U.S. weapons arsenal and the free hand this vote explicitly gave to the Nixon administration's war policies in Southeast Asia.

All moves by Proxmire and others to limit the war appropriations bill and to set a timetable for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam were defeated.

This dismal result of the dove campaign which was supposed to curtail the White House's war-making power and to speed an end to the war is well worth noting.

When the campaign was launched last May at the time of the invasion of Cambodia and the massive student upsurge, it received the biggest outpouring of public support for a congressional stand ever recorded in American history. Senator J.W. Fulbright (D-Ark.) alone received thousands of letters, telegrams and petitions representing the viewpoints of hundreds of thousands of Americans.

That certain sectors of the radical movement placed high hopes in the Senate moves is evidenced by the reaction to the defeat of the McGovern-Hatfield amendment by Arnold Johnson, Communist Party candidate for U.S. senator from New York.

"The peace movement must be self-critical," Johnson stated, according to the Sept. 3 *Daily World*, "for not mobilizing its forces and exerting more pressure. If nine more senators had voted for the amendment it could have been passed."

However, it was evident from the very outset that the fundamental aim of the senatorial critics was not to limit the war. Their main intention was to deflect the massive upsurge of public antiwar sentiment.

The hundreds of thousands of students who declared a general strike in May went far beyond the war in their rejection of Washington's policies. Many had begun to call into question the capitalist system itself and this development was not overlooked on Capitol Hill.

"The deep disillusionment of college students in their country and its institutions has its roots in Vietnam," Senator Frank Church (D-Idaho) declared May 13.

"When the power of the state is used to force young men to fight a war they believe to be wrongful, under penalty of imprisonment if they refuse, the seeds of sedition are sown. We now reap the bitter harvest, mani-

festing in the angry uprisings on campuses from coast to coast.

"Whenever the limb is shaken, all the leaves tremble. Once the moral authority of the government is rejected on an issue so fundamental as an unacceptable war, every lesser institution of authority is placed in jeopardy. Every sacred principle, every traditional value, every settled policy becomes a target for ridicule and repudiation. Cauldrons of anarchy soon begin to boil."

The senatorial doves hoped to channel the waves of student protest away from the attack on the capitalist system and back into Democratic and Republican party politics.

Church stated on May 15: "If we want to take the war protests off the streets, if we want to stop the violence, if we want to still the spirit of revolution on campuses north, south, east, and west, the way to do it is to demonstrate that here in the halls of Congress representative government still lives."

As the summer progressed, the fact that Nixon's senatorial opponents actually had little intention of restricting his policies in Southeast Asia was revealed by various votes and compromises in the wordings of bills.

In a significant vote June 25, the Senate modified to virtual meaninglessness an amendment to the Military Sales Act sponsored by senators Church and John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.). The amendment was supposed to prevent future use of U.S. forces in Cambodia.

But by an overwhelming vote of 79 to 5, the Senate added a clause specifying that nothing in the Cooper-Church amendment could restrict the power of the president "including the exercise of that constitutional power which may be necessary to protect the lives of U.S. armed forces wherever deployed."

Yet it was precisely to "save American lives" that Nixon claimed he invaded Cambodia in the first place! The five senators who opposed the restrictive clause were: J.W. Fulbright; Charles E. Goodell and Jacob K. Javits, New York Republicans; Harold E. Hughes (D-Iowa); and George McGovern (D-S.D.). Both Cooper and Church voted for the restriction on their own amendment!

By Sept. 1, when the McGovern-

Hatfield amendment finally reached a vote, it, too, had been considerably watered down.

The final version had moved the "deadline" date for withdrawal back from June to December of 1971. A specification was included that in case of an "unanticipated clear and present danger," the president could keep American troops beyond the end of 1971 if he sought permission from Congress to do so by Jan. 10, 1972.

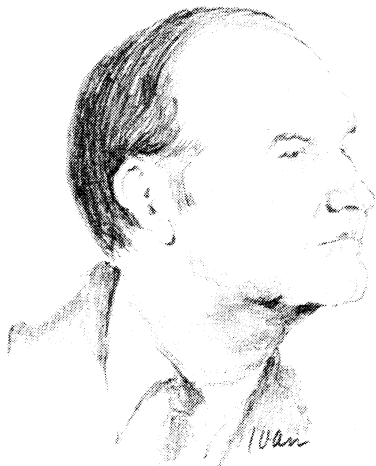
"The revised language deletes a provision in the original version which would have limited funds to specified purposes after Dec. 31 of this year," McGovern explained in the Senate Aug. 19. "We intend no interference with the president's authority to conduct the withdrawal with full tactical flexibility. *If there has been any concern over the relationship between our amendment and commander-in-chief powers, it should be quickly dispelled by this change.*" (Emphasis added.)

When the doves cried out last May that they were going to launch a campaign against the president and his war policies, we wrote in *The Militant*, May 26, that the Hatfield-McGovern amendment "is a vaguely worded bill, one that will not be voted on for months, one which may not pass the Senate, one which Nixon could easily veto."

"And for this, the antiwar movement is supposed to stop demonstrating and put their faith in the political process that put us into Vietnam. A poor trade, indeed."



Senator Cooper: "Ours is a limited amendment. We respect the President's authority. . . ."



Senator McGovern: "We intend no interference with the President's authority. . . ."

Chicago Legion of Justice figure wanted as fugitive

By BRUCE SCHEFF

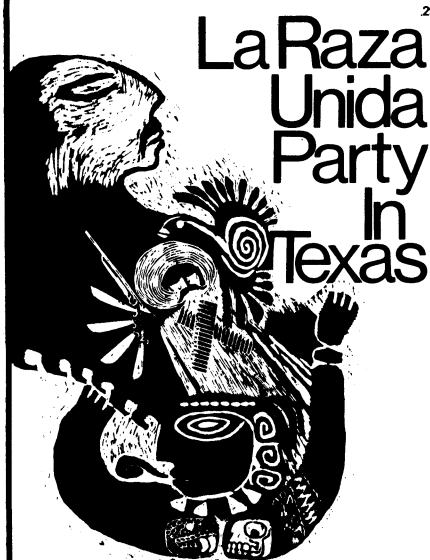
CHICAGO — Thomas Kevin Stewart, prominently associated with the right-wing terrorist Legion of Justice, failed to appear in Cook County circuit court Sept. 3 on three felony charges. The judge revoked Stewart's bond (\$2,500) and issued a warrant for his arrest with a new bond of \$10,000. The felony charges—strong-armed robbery, armed robbery and aggravated assault—stem from Stewart's charged participation in a Nov. 1, 1969, attack on the Chicago Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance headquarters.

In addition to the Sept. 3 warrant, there are two other warrants out for Stewart's arrest: one a Cicero warrant for alleged involvement in a strong-armed robbery of four priests in a Cicero church rectory on June 26, 1970; and secondly, a warrant issued when he failed to appear in court Aug. 25 on charges of robbery stemming from a pre-dawn raid on the SWP-YSA hall on June 27, 1970. Stewart is in the Chicago area and

has reportedly been making harassing and threatening phone calls to Legion victims. According to one of the priests who was a victim of a Legion raid, the Cicero police said that Stewart called the Cicero police department and said that he was heavily armed and that no one had better try to pick him up.

Many people, including some Chicago reporters, believe that Stewart is being harbored by right-wing elements in the Chicago police department. The Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks is building a large, broad delegation to Chicago police superintendent Conlisk to demand that Stewart be arrested and that a Cook County grand jury investigate the illegal activities of the Legion of Justice. The DATA committee will continue its campaign of publicity, public pressure and legal action until all Legion members involved in illegal terrorist attacks are prosecuted; and until the Legion of Justice no longer remains a threat to civil liberties.

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Union fracas: Donnybrook at Kiamasha Lake



Rockefeller

By ALEX HARTE
NEW YORK—The New York state AFL-CIO convention is usually a quiet gathering of top union bureaucrats and their hangers-on. But this year's pre-Labor Day conclave at Kiamasha Lake was different. Noisy and sometimes riotous, according to press accounts, the convention enacted no business and recessed with nothing but a hope of reconvening a month later at an undesignated place.

The furor was political. Supporters of Democratic gubernatorial hopeful Arthur J. Goldberg clashed with backers of Republican incumbent Nelson A. Rockefeller. It all happened among

friends, of course, most of whom are Democrats and all of whom are wedded to the two-party system of capitalist politics.

Both Goldberg and Rockefeller were invited to address the convention, and both were praised and cheered. Rockefeller, it is true, got hit with a Goldberg poster, according to one reporter, and someone then shoved a Goldberg supporter into an empty fountain. But the real donnybrook started after the honored guests had departed.

In a two-hour debate about which of the contenders the convention should endorse, the delegates got mean and sarcastic. And when they returned from their three-hour dinner recess—many of them expecting to continue the debate—chairman Raymond R. Corbett, a Rockefeller partisan, immediately called for a standing vote on the question and declared that Rocky had a clear majority.

The Goldberg forces, who claimed a majority and demanded a roll call, then staged a 15-minute protest demonstration. But the Rockefeller backers left the hall, and Corbett, once more declaring Rockefeller the victor, adjourned the session.

Rockefeller's supporters included most of the building-trades officials, the self-styled "hard-hats." Goldberg appeared to have most of the rest.

Each side accused the other of trying to pack the convention. Pro-Goldberg Victor Gotbaum, executive director of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees District Council 37, said he saw several bus loads of people brought into the convention who might be posing as delegates. Rockefeller backer Harry

Van Arsdale, president of the New York City Central Labor Council, countered with the accusation that some of the participants were behaving like rank-and-file workers and maybe those who suggested the convention was packed were packing it themselves.

Chairman Corbett charged his fellow Democrats of the Goldberg faction with introducing the same tactics that were used by the Communists in the old CIO unions.

When the convention reconvened Sept. 4, the first order of business was a motion to reconsider the Rockefeller endorsement, submitted by Richard A. Nolan, retired executive vice-president of the Operating Engineers and a Rockefeller supporter.

This motion will be acted on when the convention reconvenes Oct. 4. Unable to continue the convention, the AFL-CIO state executive council sought an orderly recess. Herman A. Gray, the attorney for the state federation, who serves as a parliamentarian for the top labor skates, explained the month-long recess. He said the executive council was worried by charges that the convention was rigged and wanted to let the whole thing cool down for awhile. Most delegates had already fled the convention anyway.

The state convention's action will have no effect on what the unions do in any event. Those that have endorsed Goldberg will put union money into his campaign, and the others will contribute it to Rockefeller.

Among the two million rank-and-file unionists who pay per-capita tax through their local unions to maintain the state AFL-CIO, there must



Goldberg

be many who wonder how such a collection of self-serving union politicians and their motley crew of sycophants could get so agitated and make such a public spectacle of themselves over the partisan rivalry of Democrats and Republicans, who as everyone knows are little interested in the needs of workers or their unions.

One of the convention delegates, Jack Suarez of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, said he thought it was a choice between a man from the ranks of big business and one from the ranks of labor. Rockefeller is unquestionably the one from big business.

But this does not make Goldberg a representative of the unions nor "a man from the ranks of labor." He once was hired by the Steel Workers union as an attorney. So was Spiro Agnew once hired as legal counsel for the Meatcutters union. That is no reason for the union to endorse either of them for public office, or for workers to waste a vote on them.

The heat and excitement at the New York state AFL-CIO convention was generated by the present shambles of the Democratic party, which calls into question the value of the old Democratic-labor coalition. This is sure to generate more heat and excitement throughout the union movement.

Union officials go to the election races the same way they go to the horse races, and with about as much understanding. They like to pick winners.

The national picket line

Strike in offing? Rail deadline nears

Sept. 10 was set as the strike deadline by four major railroad unions. The unions are the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, (BRAC), representing 175,000 off-train employees of 76 carriers; the United Transportation Union (250,000 trainmen, locomotive firemen, brakemen, conductors and switchmen); the 140,000-member Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees; and the dining car division of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, which represents 1,000 workers on trains.

The National Railway Mediation Board, prior to the strike deadline, is considering bypassing emergency board action in this particular dispute and instead setting up an enlarged emergency board to deal with all the upcoming disputes between the rail unions and the carriers. They have this power under the National Railway Act.

Union critics of the Railway Act contend (and history has proven them right) that there is literally no bargaining between the roads and the unions until emergency board action postponing strike action for 60 days has been taken.

The Brotherhood of Railway and Airlines Clerks are seeking pay increases of 40 percent over three years; a guaranteed annual wage; an extra 1 cent an hour (to a maximum of 10 cents) for every year of employment; three more paid holidays; longer paid vacations; and a lifetime job

guarantee for all employed at least two years. This job guarantee now applies only to those employed before Oct. 1, 1962.

The Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and representatives of the dining car workers want at least 12 percent per year increase.

The United Transportation Union (representing four merged operating unions) want 15 percent per year wage hikes, as well as other fringe benefit improvements.

* * *

The much vaunted federally sponsored JOBS training program has granted contracts to 3 Baltimore, Md., firms to train a grand total of 48 men—at a total cost to the Dept. of Labor of more than \$105,000.

The 48 men who will be in on-the-job training for from 16 to 29 weeks, will be paid from \$2 to \$3.50 per hour during the course. (The \$3.50 is to 11 miners being retrained as tunnel diggers by the Eastern Tunneling Corp., and after the course, these men can earn up to \$4.50.) The rest of the trainees, 37 of them, will eventually end up earning up to \$2.88 per hour.

The employers pocket the \$105,000 training fees, plus profits from the workers' labor.

* * *

One group of workers especially hard hit by unemployment in the midst of inflation are the young soldiers returning from Vietnam. Since most of these young people were drafted before they had a chance to gain any work experience, the only occupation they can list in which they are well trained is "riflemen."

And as one official of the Veterans of Foreign Wars put it, "Who the hell wants riflemen?"

It is no surprise that the problem is even more severe among the Blacks and other minority peoples. *Time*, Aug. 31, says that "government sources fear that such cadres of frustrated angry young Blacks could dangerously swell the tide of urban unrest."

* * *

There is one very significant bit of news threaded into all reports about the farm workers strike in the California Salad Bowl—Salinas Valley. This has to do with the way the "sweetheart contract" works.

A large majority of the workers now under the Teamsters contract with the growers are refusing to cross the picket lines of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee. This is significant evidence that the IBT contracts with the growers are truly "sweetheart" agreements—those contracts signed between the bosses and the top union officials without any consultation or say by the rank and file. Such agreements are intended to bar the door to other unions seeking recognition which the bosses fear might negotiate a decent contract.

Suddenly one day the workers in a plant wake up to discover they belong to a union. The only "benefits" the workers gain from such arrangements is a check-off of dues from their paychecks.

The Teamsters and the unions in the garment and plastics industries are the prime examples of this kind of "unionism."

—MARVEL SCHOLL

fromPathfinder

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♀ Women's liberation notes

Since our last deadline, we've received reports on August 26 women's protest actions from numerous cities across the country, including from a number of smaller cities and cities which are not generally thought of as centers of political activity.

In Rochester, Minnesota, for instance, a town of 47,000, the first major women's liberation activity in the area took place. Fifty women participated in an all-day conference on women's liberation sponsored jointly by Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Rochester Women's Liberation Movement. The main speaker at the conference was Nancy Strebe, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the Senate from Minnesota.

In Madison, Wisconsin, a rally of 400 people took place on the steps of the City-County Building, centered on the demand that the city provide free, 24-hour, community-controlled child-care centers.

The Aug. 26 demonstration in Milwaukee was led by a group of women costumed as housewives chained to their brooms, as Playboy bunnies and as pregnant brides, to dramatize the oppression of women.

About 200 people, many of them women workers on lunch breaks from the surrounding office buildings and department stores, rallied for women's rights in downtown San Diego. Linda Lagrette, local coordinator for the United Farm Workers, spoke to the rally on the role of Chicanas in the grape strike and the UFW.

The Austin Women's Liberation Movement observed the Aug. 26 Strike with a noon rally of about 250 women on the state capitol grounds. The three demands of the strike were discussed and a regional women's liberation conference was called for Sept. 26 and 27.

The size and breadth of the Aug. 26 protest demonstrated that the women's liberation movement is becoming a mass movement. The strike proved that masses of women can be mobilized around the three demands of the strike: free abortion on demand; free, 24-hour child-care facilities; and equal educational and job opportunities.



Photo by Howard Petrick

Women march in New York Aug. 26.

In a number of cities, virtually the entire women's liberation movement was able to unite to build the strike. In some areas sisters are already discussing the need to preserve this powerful unity, by maintaining and expanding the coalitions that built Aug. 26 in order to carry on the struggle begun on that historic day.

(Contributors to this roundup included Guy Miller, Robin Block, Barbara Deur and Vivian Balfour.)

* * *

A caucus of women psychologists has demanded \$1-million in reparations for the damages done to women by the psychology profession. The demand was made Sept. 4 at the national convention of the American Psychological Association held in Miami.

Dr. Phyllis Chesler, from the Association for Women Psychologists, explained that the \$1-million would go toward releasing women from mental hospitals and from psychotherapy.

"Both psychotherapy and marriage function as vehicles for keeping a woman in her place," Dr. Chesler said. "The ethic of mental health—as defined by research and clinical psychologists, most of whom are middle-class, middle-age, white men—is a masculine one in our culture. Women are perceived as childlike, churlish, emotional, intuitive—as alien to most male psychologists."

Dr. Chesler pointed to the predominance of women in mental hospitals and in psychotherapy, and charged the psychological profession with aiding "the physical imprisonment of

countless women whom they have labeled mentally unfit because they were rebellious slaves."

The executive committee of the board of directors of the Association promised to consider at its next meeting the demand for reparations, as well as 52 other motions and resolutions regarding the status of women that were put forward by the group of women psychologists.

* * *

An article in the Sept. 6 *New York Times Magazine* underlined the fact that even such staid, "scientific" publications as *National Geographic* are steeped in sexism and racism. One of the features of *National Geographic* most attractive to men, says the article, has been the numerous photographs of women of primitive societies with bare breasts. In fact, the magazine has a conscious policy of what its editor refers to as "rejecting prudery" and showing "women of the world in true native dress."

The author of the article ecstatically describes his own favorite picture from the magazine—a photo of a slave woman whom Buckley finds "the stuff of multidimensional sexual fantasy beside whom the girls in *Playboy* are poor plastic things indeed."

National Geographic trims its presentation of women as sexual objects with a veneer of being "scientific," and concerned with "anthropology." Yet its sexism is apparently coupled with racism. The *National Geographic* has a policy of showing breasts in any color but white. Once they had a problem with a photo of a Polynesian woman who had very light skin, so the photo had to be touched up in the laboratory. "We darkened her down to make her look more native—more valid, you might say," explained the president of the National Geographic Society.

—CAROLINE LUND

Austin meeting hears contending Texas candidates

AUSTIN, Texas — Mariana Hernandez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. senator from Texas, confronted liberal Texas political figures on a panel here Aug. 29. The topic of the panel, sponsored by the Young Democrats, was "Is the Democratic Party a Viable Vehicle for Social Change?" Young Democrats are seriously examining this issue.

A sign of the growing disillusionment with the Democratic Party was the recent decision of the executive board of the Houston Young Democrats to endorse the SWP ticket.

Discussion was opened by Alfredo Pena III, a spokesman for La Raza Unida Party in San Antonio. He attacked the Democratic Party as being racist to the core. He charged that it was unable to represent Chicanos and other oppressed peoples, and called for its destruction.

Several Democrats, including Congressman Bob Eckhart and national committeewoman Corin Patman, claimed it was worth defending because of what they called the growing liberal wing inside the national Democratic Party.

Since the Young Democrats seemed to be repelled by the idea of supporting the Democratic nominee for U.S. senator, conservative millionaire Lloyd Bentsen, one panelist proposed that they support the Republicans, thereby hoping to prompt Texas conservatives to join the Republicans and leave the Democratic Party in the hands of the liberals.

Mariana Hernandez urged support to La Raza Unida Party, socialist and other independent political movements and opposition to any schemes promoting Democratic liberals. Social change never comes about through the good intentions of liberals, she explained, but through mass action in the streets.

—DERRICK MORRISON

Third World liberation notes

Watts jobless rate climbs

It has been five years since the Watts, Los Angeles, uprising. Yet, North American capitalist society has still been unable to find any solution to the problems that caused it. In fact, the situation is worsening. Recent statistics from a U.S. Labor Department study reveal that unemployment in Watts has leaped 60 percent. In 1965, the unemployment figure was 10 percent. At the end of 1969, it stood at 16 percent.

The sector of the community hit hardest was Black women. According to the Department of Labor study, while unemployment for Black men went up 3 percent, unemployment for Black women doubled. But these figures reflect only those Blacks looking for jobs. What about all those who have given up hope of ever finding one?

* * *

This fall will see the beginning of the first Chicano college. Situated in Mission, Texas, the Jacinto Trevino Chicano College (*Colegio Jacinto Trevino Centro Educativo Chicano*) was initiated by members of MAYO (Mexican-American Youth Organization). Through agreement with Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, Chicanos or Chicanas striving for a Master of Arts in Teaching will be able to complete the degree by teaching at the CJTCEC. Classes will be oriented toward Chicanos who have been pushed out of the anglo education system. And that number is very great:

80 percent of the Chicanos that start school never finish high school.

Jacinto Trevino was a popular figure in Mexican history because he fought for the rights of the campesinos. However, gringo history writes him up as a "bandit."

The college is viewed as part of the process of implementing the Plan de Aztlan, i.e., the programmatic statement on Chicano self-determination.

* * *

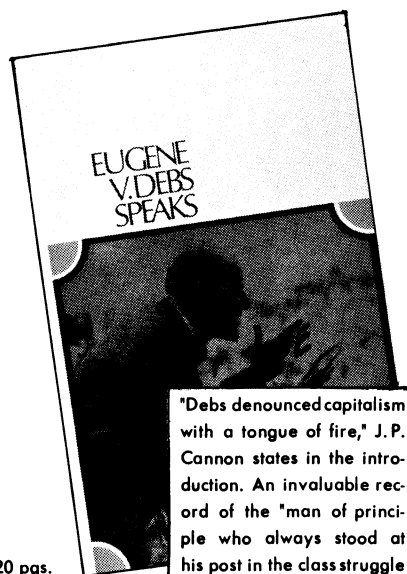
According to the August 28 *New York Times*, the U.S. government operates a military radio station called Kagnew (of all names) in Asmara, Ethiopia. The base, originally operated by the British, was taken over by the U.S. in 1953. Now there are 4,500 North Americans on the base.

Repeated protests by Ethiopian students have focused a lot of publicity on the radio base. The students claim it is used in spy operations, which the *Times* article bears out when it says, "The base's main function is to transmit, relay, and receive communications from United States diplomatic missions and military units around Africa as well as to relay messages from the United States to Europe, to the Indian Ocean, and even the *Far East* (my emphasis—D.M.)." Thus, the neocolonial regime of Haile Selassie is making a small contribution to U.S. aggression against the Vietnamese people.

Eugene V. Debs Speaks

with an introduction by
James P. Cannon

edited by
Jean Y. Tussey



"Debs denounced capitalism with a tongue of fire," J.P. Cannon states in the introduction. An invaluable record of the "man of principle who always stood at his post in the class struggle in time of danger and difficulty." Here, Debs speaks.

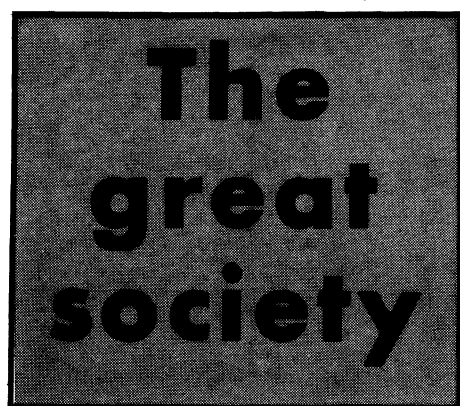
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How concerned can you get?—A Buddhist shrine at which prayers will be offered for the souls of those killed in auto accidents was dedicated on the slope of a mountain near Tokyo by the president of Toyota, world's fifth biggest auto producer. Toyota dealers and Standard Oil of Japan chipped in \$440,000 for the blood-red structure. Toyota recalled nearly a million defective cars in Japan last year and nearly 60,000 in the U.S. The company emphasized that the shrine was for the victims of all makes of cars.

Maybe it was insomnia—It took several readings for us to get the joke about Soviet premier Kosygin stopping in the middle of a speech and telling security guards to arrest a man in the third row as a CIA agent. The man confessed he really was a spy, and Kosygin explained to astonished aides: "It was easy. Remember the words of Lenin, 'The enemy never sleeps.'"

No U.S. aid?—South African manufacturers of hangmen's nooses were advised by the government that Sept. 28 was the deadline for submitting sale bids.

Status symbols—A *New York Times* shopping column suggests that until women are liberated from the struggle for status, they may be interested in the status offered by a new Yves St. Laurent silk scarf available at Bonwit Teller's, \$100. If not, and you have a dog, you could amble over to Saks where they're featuring matching collars for dogs and mistresses. The human collars start at \$8, the dog's at \$9.

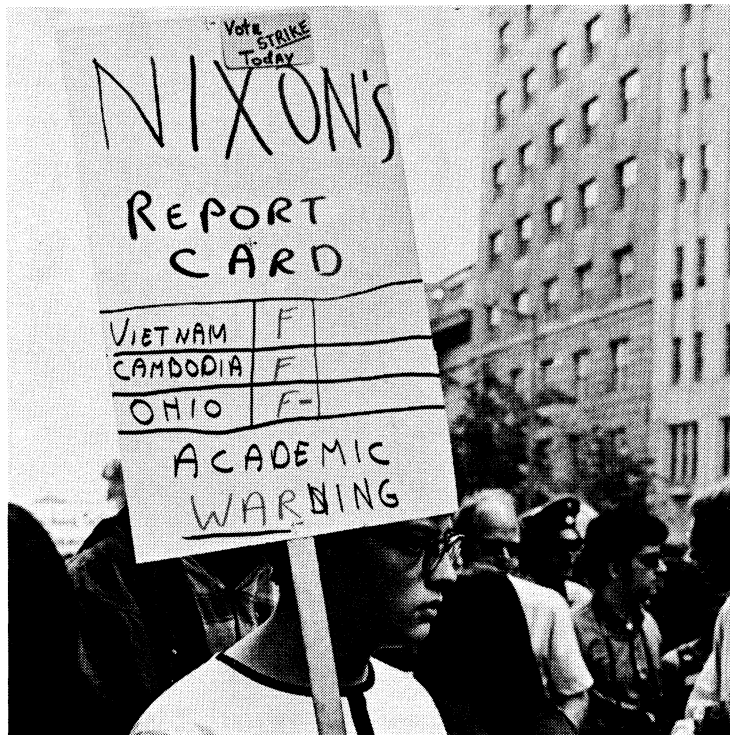
Stomach liner—Scientists now warn that you may be ingesting tar ingested by the fish that tuna fish feed on.

Who would even raise the question?—Charles Stephens, 33-year-old real estate man and cochairman of "American Youth for a Just Peace," told Saigon newsmen that he was "amazed by the level of freedom" throughout South Vietnam. He acknowledged that his group's fare and expenses were paid by the Saigon dictatorship but assured that "our opinions and conclusions are our own."

Pollution fighters—The Estee Lauder company advises that a good way for women to fight the effects of pollution is to purchase their new aerosol facial spray consisting of pure spring water. The water joins the company's other "natural" products including a milk rinse and an almond meal soap.

Don't dip in alcohol—The British Columbia, Canada, attorney general announced he has devised a fool-proof identification card for liquor purchases. The laminated plastic cards bear a photo of the holder, and should anyone attempt to alter it, the province's chief gumshoe said, "it will self-destruct. If you open it, it will go poof."

Forward looking—Cambodia is planning to drop French as a foreign language in primary schools and place a greater emphasis on English.
—HARRY RING



During a six-month period before the Cambodian invasion, Kenneth and Mary Gergen of the Swarthmore College department of psychology conducted a nationwide survey of more than 5,000 students in 39 randomly selected colleges. Immediately after the Cambodian invasion, they surveyed 300 students at Swarthmore, one of the colleges included in the original study. "The survey," they reported, "dealt primarily with the educational and personal effects of the Vietnam war."

Even before Cambodia, they found that "withdrawal from Vietnam is the overwhelming preference of collegestudents. When asked about their policy preferences in Vietnam, over 88 percent of the sample indicated that some form of withdrawal was most preferred. Almost 30 percent preferred immediate, unilateral withdrawal, while an equal number preferred unilateral phased withdrawal."

Moreover, the scholars found, "protest against the war has a popular base and is not limited to the radical fringe. Prior to the Cambodian invasion, over 42 percent of the students had demonstrated against the war, almost twice the number that participated in any form of civil rights demonstration. Participation in antiwar demonstrations was hardly limited to a radical fringe. The data indicate that in an average group of 100 antiwar demonstrators, one might find 13 Republicans, 20 Democrats, 62 independents, and only five persons who identify themselves as radicals. The overwhelming majority of the demon-

strators place a high value on traditional American ideals. In particular, they express strong positive feelings toward the United States Constitution, Thomas Jefferson, President Kennedy, and the Bill of Rights."

Nevertheless, "vast political and social alienation has resulted from the war," the Gergen team concluded. "Over 40 percent of the sample indicate that the war has altered their political affiliation, and of these, only seven percent have increased their commitment to one of the two major political parties. The remaining 93 percent of this group became more 'liberal,' 'radical,' 'disillusioned with party politics,' and otherwise alienated from party politics. . . . More than one of every three students has altered his feelings toward his parents, with approximately half of these reporting increased alienation from one or both parents. . . . One in every five students has considered moving his residence from the United States."

"Approximately one of every three students has altered his career plans as a result of the war," the Gergens' study indicated. "In some schools, over a third of the students altered their course of study as a result of the war, and up to 40 percent have reduced the amount of time devoted to their studies. More than one of every five students traces his dissatisfaction with his curriculum and rules governing student life to the war. Approximately one of every three has decreased his respect for the administration of his institution."

"Social polarization prevails on

Campus study: 'vast political and social alienation'

many campuses. More than one of every three students has altered his respect for his faculty, but respect has been increased or decreased depending on faculty sentiment toward the war."

All that the Gergens discovered before Cambodia. Of their post-Cambodia follow-up at Swarthmore, the Gergens report: "While these results are based on a sample of only 300, they indicate a dramatic increase in the negative consequences of the war. Approximately 50 percent of the students now indicate that the war has caused them to decrease their evaluation of formal education. Over half the students boycotted their studies altogether in an attempt to 'strike' against national policy. The number of persons who decreased their desire for graduate school almost doubled (69 percent). Preference for unilateral withdrawal was also increased by 25 percent."

Leon Trotsky on the Jewish Question

introduction by Peter Buch

These interviews, letters and articles analyze Zionism, Birobidjan, and anti-Semitism in both the imperialist countries and the Soviet Union. 50c



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MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Rm 307, Boston, Mass. 02115. Tel: (617) 536-6981 (HQ), 547-8557.

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WASHINGTON, D.C.: YSA, 1319 F. St. NW., Rm. 1010, Wash., D.C. Tel: (202) 638-0610 or 965-1943.

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Seattle: Militant Bookstore, 5257 University Way N.E., Seattle, Wash. 98105. Hrs. 11 a.m.-8 p.m., Mon.-Sat. Tel: (206) 523-2555.

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Madison: YSA, 202 W. Gilman, Madison, Wis. 53703. Tel: (608) 256-0857.

Milwaukee: YSA, 1682 N. Franklin Pl., Milwaukee, Wis. 53202.

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A SUGGESTION. If you're finished with it, why not pass this copy on to a friend?

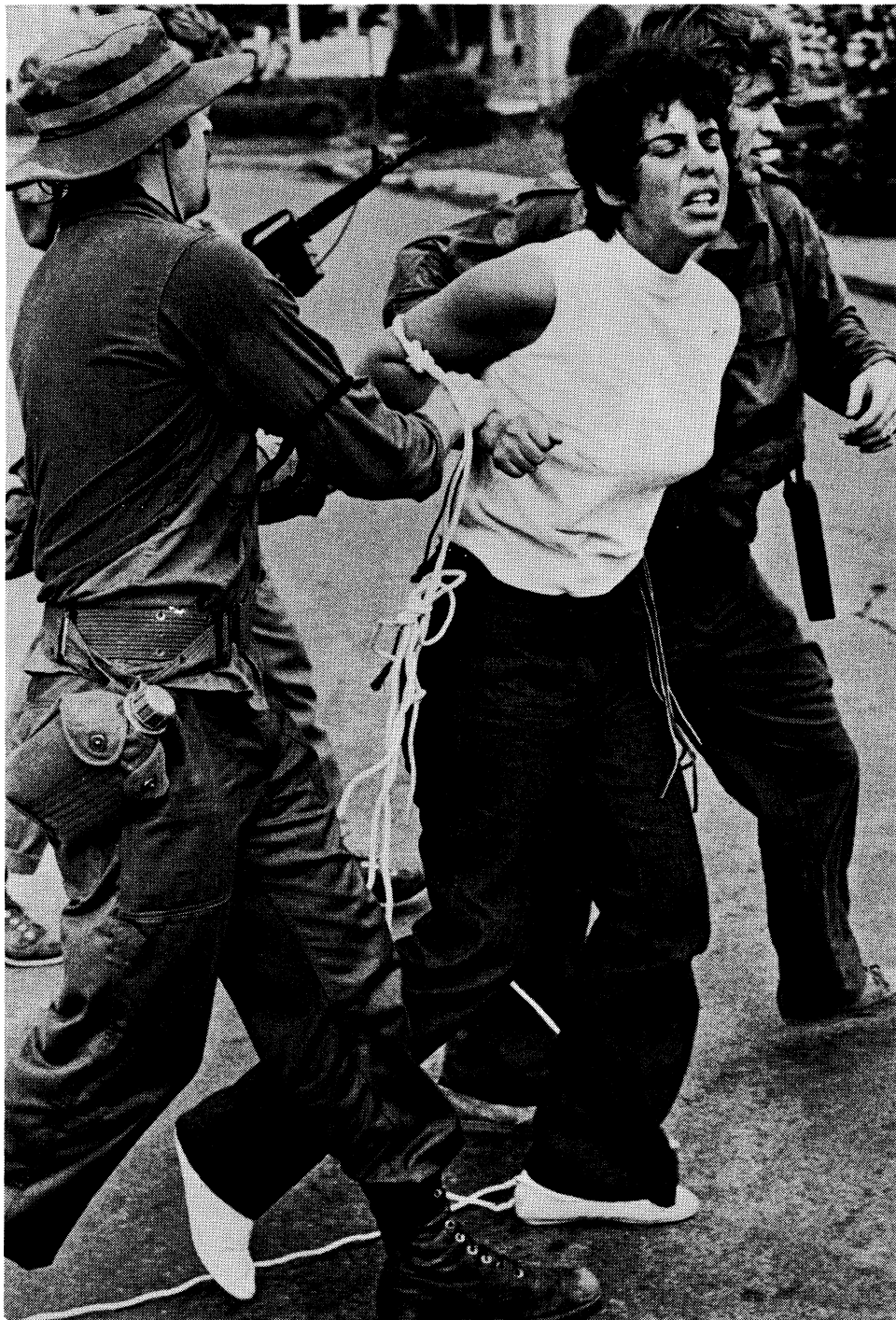


Photo by Howard Petrick

OPERATION RAW. Vietnam Veterans Against the War grab guerrilla theater member as they would a "vietcong suspect" in Vietnam. Scene was part of Operation Rapid American Withdrawal, a march of nearly 150 Vietnam veterans who followed route of Washington's Continental Army from Morristown, N.J., to Valley Forge, Pa., where they held Labor Day antiwar rally of 1,500. Militant photographer Howard Petrick, who went the distance, reports bystander response was excellent.

Ga. socialists press fight for ballot place

By CLIFF CONNER

ATLANTA—Justice Hugo Black of the U. S. Supreme Court refused Aug. 26 to order Georgia's secretary of state to place three candidates of the Socialist Workers Party on the general election ballot.

Gubernatorial candidate Linda Jenness and congressional candidates Joe Cole and Frank Grinnon had appealed to the Supreme Court in two separate actions. One asked that Black grant "immediate relief" (ordering their names on the ballot as a matter of urgency), and the other asked for a review by the full court of Georgia's undemocratic election laws, which require independent candidates to collect exorbitant numbers of signatures to qualify for ballot status (more than 88,000 for gubernatorial candidates, for example).

Justice Black denied the petition for immediate relief and did not give a written opinion. The SWP candidates still have a chance to win ballot status, however, since their other appeal is pending before the court.

The Supreme Court will reconvene on Oct. 5, at which time it will decide whether or not to hear the case. If it hears it and rules against Georgia's petitioning requirements, the SWP candidates will be on the ballot.

The present appeal represents the second half of the SWP's battle against Georgia's undemocratic election laws. Originally the challenge had been made both against the petitioning requirements and the high qualifying fees (\$2,125 for each of the three candidates).

On June 22, a three-judge federal panel in Atlanta struck down the qualifying fees but upheld the nominating petition requirements.

In reporting Justice Black's refusal to grant immediate relief, the daily press has correctly not portrayed the decision as a defeat for the SWP candidates. An *Atlanta Journal* article was



Linda Jenness

headlined "Georgia Candidates Still Have Chance," and a picture of Linda Jenness in the *Atlanta Constitution* was captioned, "Won't give up."

On Sept. 1, the state of Georgia filed its reply to the SWP suit. Georgia attorney general Arthur Bolton told the *Atlanta Constitution* it was "folly" to suggest that Georgia's laws prevent "unorthodox" candidates from entering the electoral arena. As evidence, he pointed to the fact that current gubernatorial candidates include a full-blown fascist who calls Hitler a "moderate," a liberal Black civil rights attorney, and a mystic who claims to represent the "inner man."

But Bolton failed to point out that all these candidates are running in the Democratic Party primary. It is precisely for the purpose of channeling "unorthodox" political currents into the major capitalist parties that the laws discriminate against independent candidates. The Black attorney, for example, publicly considered running as an independent Black candidate, but decided that it was simpler to be a Democrat than to collect 88,000 signatures.

The *Atlanta Journal*, on Aug. 27, accurately described the thrust of the SWP's legal action: "The current court case is aimed at breaking Republican and Democratic monopolies on the electoral process, [the socialists say]."

Brass beats band

Antiwar GIs fight punitive transfers

By DAVID THORSTAD

SEPT. 4—The Army brass is continuing its harassment of antiwar GIs at Fort Wadsworth on Staten Island, part of the Fort Hamilton military complex in New York City. Five more members of the 26th Army Band at the base are scheduled to be punitively transferred to other bases because of their antiwar views. One will be sent to Germany, two to Korea, and two to Vietnam. This brings to eight the number of bandmen shipped out since early July.

The recently formed Fort Hamilton GIs United is seeking a temporary restraining order in federal court to

prevent the transfer of bandmen until legal proceedings against the Army's violation of the GIs' First Amendment rights have been resolved.

The new group also plans to begin publishing a newspaper to help get out the word on the case, especially to GIs stationed in the New York area.

The harassment of the antiwar soldiers began in late July when leading GI activist SP/4 David Cortwright was transferred to Fort Bliss, Texas, and two other GIs who signed a letter protesting Cortwright's reassignment were themselves given orders for Vietnam.

In response to appeals by the GIs, 11 congressmen, including senators Charles Goodell and Jacob Javits, have demanded an immediate inquiry into the situation.

The Army has undertaken what is ostensibly to be an investigation into complaints by the GIs that the Army is violating their rights. The GIs expect the "investigation," to be completed by Sept. 10, to be a whitewash. One of the reasons for this prediction is that the investigative activities of a colonel sent in from the Department of the Army in Washington, D. C., consisted in calling in none of the people involved in the case, but "only those interested in hushing it up," according to Pvt. David Reed, one of the GIs who is being transferred out.

Asked what effect, if any, the transfers have had on the band, which is down from 70 to just over 50, Reed said the brass wanted to get rid of enough antiwar GIs "to sap it of its dissident strength, but all they're doing is sapping it of its musical strength."

The Committee to Defend the Fort Hamilton GIs needs money and sponsors in order to win its fight for GI rights. Funds and messages of support should be sent to the committee at P. O. Box 11, Staten Island, N. Y. 10301.

Texas women set conference

AUSTIN—The first women's liberation conference in Texas will be held at the University of Texas in Austin Sept. 26-27. Panel discussions at the conference will cover: the psychological oppression of women, problems of minority women, the family, women in the economy, sexist education, child care, and legal and medical aspects of abortion and birth control. Speakers will include Chicana women, Black women, and women's liberation activists who organized the Aug. 26 women's strike protest in Austin.

The conference will plan statewide actions around the issues of abortion and birth control, the Equal Rights Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, the mass media's image of women, the war in Vietnam, employment problems of women, and child-care facilities.

For more information contact Laura Maggi, 708 W. 22, Apt. 3, Austin, Texas 78705.